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WILCOCKS AND FIELD IN NEWGATE PRISON.

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English Puritan Divines

IN

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

CARTWRIGHT AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.



The wives and children of Wilcocke and Field presenting a petition to the Earl of Leicester — Page 233.

LONDON: THOMAS NELSON.

English Puritan Divines

IN

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

CARTWRIGHT AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

For what contend the wise?—for nothing less
Than that the soul, freed from the bonds of Sense,
And to her God restored by evidence
Of things not seen, drawn forth from their recess,
Root there, and not in forms, her holiness.

WORDSWORTH

London:
THOMAS NELSON, PATERNOSTER ROW,
AND EDINBURGH.

MDCCCXLIX

PREFACE.

THE following biographical sketches of Cartwright and the leading Nonconformists of the period in which he lived, have been prepared for the purpose of presenting to the reader in a comprehensive and systematic form, an accurate view of one of the great movements of the Elizabethan era of English history, from which the subsequent phases of our national annals derived many of their most lasting and valuable characteristics. The reign of Queen Elizabeth has been referred to by writers of widely different opinions, as a happy and a glorious one for her country. From the naval victories of her reign we date the maritime supremacy of England, so peculiarly calculated to excite the pride and gratitude of an insular nation. From her wise and consistent policy, we no less justly trace the high and influential position which the kingdom for the first time assumed among the States of Europe; while the celebrity which attaches to the literature of an age adorned by such names as Spenser, Shakespeare, Beaumont, Fletcher, Raleigh, and Bacon,

has been reflected back, with more than her just share of merit, on the ruler who has given name to the Elizabethan age.

In the biographical narratives included in this volume, such a view has been attempted to be given of the relation of secondary occurrences comprised in individual history, with contemporaneous political and religious movements, and the grand events that mark that era of the history of Europe, as is naturally traceable from their mutual reaction on each other. From these combined sources, a different page of English history is opened up, furnishing grounds for believing, that if the Elizabethan era may be regarded as the birth-time of maritime supremacy and national glory, it is no less justly referred to as the period in which many social evils had their unheeded origin, whose bitter harvest was reaped in anarchy and civil strife, and the recurring despotism of succeeding reigns. The life of Cartwright has already been written with laborious study and care by the author of the "Lives of the Puritans." While, however, that valuable contribution to Nonconformist biography has been frequently referred to during the composition of the following narrative, an entirely different plan has been adopted in the reproduction of those memorable occurrences which marked the life of the great "Father of the Puritans." The chief object aimed at has been to exhibit Protestant Nonconformity playing its part on the historic stage, influencing the events of the period, and assuming

consistent form under the reaction of contemporaneous occurrences. By this means it is hoped that a volume has been produced whose interest will consist more in its presenting a consistent view of the birth and early history of Protestant Nonconformity, even than in the valuable records of private worth, and of Christian fortitude in the maintenance of a good conscience, which the lives of Cartwright and his most eminent contemporaries display. To those, however, who seek rather to study the Christian biography of the first age of the English reformation, than the political and religious contests that moulded the nation into the form it now assumes, sufficient remains in the following pages to gratify and instruct. However the reader may differ on some points from these sufferers for conscience' sake, he cannot fail to be struck with the courageous zeal and earnest consistency with which the Puritan martyrs held fast the faith which they had learned from the divine oracles of Scripture. England may well be proud of such sons. They counted not their lives dear to them when the cause of truth was at stake, but held fast their faith and liberty of conscience, and won for us, by their toils and sufferings—by imprisonment, exile, and death—the liberty of conscience which we now enjoy.

CONTENTS.

CARTWRIGHT'S CONTEMPORARIES.



LIFE AND TIMES

OF THE

REV. THOMAS CARTWRIGHT.

CHAPTER I.—EARLY EDUCATION.

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, one of the earliest and most eminent of the English Puritans, was born in the county of Hertford, as is believed, in the year 1535. The incidents that give character to the period of a man's birth and early education undoubtedly exercise a remarkable influence on his whole after years. It is as it were the mould by which the future shape his mind shall assume is determined, and while he helps to form the character of his age, it much more strongly controls his own. Few periods in English history are more pregnant with high promise, and with deeply exciting interest, than that which dates as the birth of Cartwright. Scarcely two years before, Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry VIII. and of his hapless favourite Anne Boleyn, was born at the old palace of Greenwich. A few months after her birth, in the month of May 1536, Queen Anne Boleyn was sent to the block, and not long after, his marriage with Anne Boleyn was declared to have been as unlawful and void

as that which had already been set aside with his first Queen, both Elizabeth and her elder sister Mary being branded with illegitimacy.

Scarcely any thing is known of the parentage of Thomas Cartwright, or of his early years. His industrious and careful biographer, the Rev. B. Brook, remarks of him, "His parents were in reputable, though not in wealthy circumstances; but perceiving that their son possessed brilliant talents, and ardently thirsted after literary acquirements, they encouraged his leading propensity, and appointed him to the exercises of the muses. His progress in school-learning was rapid and extensive; and high expectations were entertained by his friends, who anticipated his becoming eminent in future life."

At the age of fifteen, in accordance with the custom of that period, Thomas Cartwright was entered a student at St. John's College, Cambridge, first under the tuition of Dr. Bill, and afterwards of Mr. Thomas Lever, one who, like himself, was compelled at a later period to forego the advantages of rank and high literary standing at his university, rather than wrong the dictates of his conscience by submitting to practices which appeared to him to savour of superstition and wilful error. Henry VIII. died on the 28th of February 1547, so that it was during the early years of the protectorate which followed on the accession of the youthful king, Edward VI., that Cartwright entered on his studies at Cambridge.

He was fortunate in the choice of his college, and in the instructors under whose care he was placed. He found himself there under the guidance of men eminent alike for piety and learning, and earnestly devoted to the

cause of the Reformation. It was also fortunate for one whose life was chequered by so many and varied sufferings for conscience' sake, that this important period of his life, during which all the most valuable seeds of learning, virtue, and piety, were to be implanted in his young mind, was one of peace and liberty of conscience.

The brief reign of the pious young king, Edward VI., served to thousands in England as a breathing time wherein to collect their strength, and confirm their allegiance to the truth, before the terrible strife of the persecutors was renewed, and they were compelled to choose their side in the face of dangers the most appalling that the human heart ever shrunk from. It is not necessary to review here the memorable incidents of the sixth Edward's brief reign, important as their influence must have been on the subject of this memoir. It was a period of commotion and uncertainty such as marks every era of important changes in the character and mind of a people. Foreign wars, and domestic strife and confusion disturbed the nation and retarded the efforts of honest, religious, and political reformers. Already England had renounced the supremacy of the Pope, under the erratic guidance of Henry VIII., but only to exchange the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome for that of the haughty Tudor King. The exposure of the vice and luxury of the monastic establishments had been rapidly followed by the dissolution of all religious houses, and the qualified extension of the Scriptures in English to the use of the laity. The former was stimulated by the cupidity of Henry, as much as the latter was encouraged by the pious zeal of Cranmer. Nevertheless these radical changes had been only a

short time effected when those who most rejoiced in the promised liberty of conscience bitterly learned on how frail and fickle a prop their hopes reposed. Only a few months before the accession of Edward VI., Protestants and Catholics were dragged on the same hurdle to Smithfield to be burned at the stake, and all things united to testify how little conscientious conviction or love of the truth had to do with the renunciation of the errors and the tyranny of Rome by the English King.

A very different spirit became apparent under the new King and the administration of the Protector, Somerset. Decided measures were immediately adopted for establishing Protestantism as the religion of the state. The following is a concise summary of the characteristic proceedings of the period: "Even before the meeting of Parliament, the practice of reading the service in English was adopted in the royal chapel, and a visitation, appointed by the council, removed the images from the churches throughout the kingdom. Bishops Gardiner of Winchester and Bonner of London, who resisted these measures, were committed to the Fleet. The parliament met in November, when bills were passed allowing the cup to the laity, giving the nomination of bishops to the King, and enacting that all processes in ecclesiastical courts should run in the King's name. The statute of the Six Articles, commonly called the Bloody Statute, passed in 1539, was repealed, along with various other acts of the preceding reign for the regulation of religion. By the parliament of 1548 the use of the Book of Common Prayer was established, and all laws prohibiting spiritual persons to marry were declared void. At the same time an act

was passed (2 and 3 Ed. VI. c. 19) abolishing the old laws against eating flesh on certain days, but still enforcing the observance of the former practice by new penalties, 'the King's majesty,' says the preamble, 'considering that due and godly abstinence is a mean to virtue, and to subdue men's bodies to their soul and spirit, and considering also specially that fishers, and men using the trade of living by fishing in the sea, may thereby the rather be set on work, and that by eating of fish much flesh shall be saved and increased.'

"But Somerset's path was now crossed by a new opponent, in the person of his own brother, Lord Seymour. That nobleman, equally ambitious with the Protector but of a much more violent and unscrupulous temper, is supposed to have, very soon after the King's accession, formed the design of disputing the supreme power with his brother. It is said to have been a notice of his intrigues that suddenly recalled Somerset from Scotland after the battle of Pinkey. The crime of Seymour does not appear to have gone farther than caballing against his brother; but Somerset contrived to represent it as amounting to high treason. On this charge he was consigned to the Tower; a bill attainting him was brought into the House of Lords, and read a first time on the 25th of February, 1549; it was passed unanimously on the 27th. The accused was not heard in his own defence, nor were any witnesses examined against him; the House proceeded simply on the assurance of his brother, and of other members of the council, that he was guilty. The bill was afterwards passed, with little hesitation, by the House of Commons; it received the royal assent on the 14th of March;

and on the 20th Lord Seymour was beheaded on Tower Hill, with his last breath solemnly protesting his innocence.

"During the summer of this year the kingdom was disturbed by formidable insurrections of the populace in Somerset, Lincoln, Kent, Essex, Suffolk, Devon, Cornwall, and especially in Norfolk, where a tanner of the name of Kett opposed the government at the head of a body of 20,000 followers. The dearness of provisions, the lowness of wages, the enclosure of common fields, and in some places the abolition of the old religion, with its monasteries where the poor used to be fed, and its numerous ceremonies and holidays that used to gladden labour with so much relaxation and amusement, were the principal topics of the popular clamour. It is worth noticing that the agency of the press was on this occasion employed, probably for the first time, as an instrument of government. Holinshed records that 'while these wicked commotions and tumults, through the rage of the indiscreet Commons were thus raised in sundry parts of the realm, sundry wholesome and godly exhortations were published, to advertise them of their duty and to lay before them their heinous offences.' Among them was a tract by Sir John Cheke, entitled, 'The Hurt of Sedition, how grievous it is to a Commonwealth,' which is a very able and vigorous piece of writing. It was found necessary however to call another force into operation; the insurgents were not put down without much fighting and bloodshed; and many of the rebels were executed after the suppression of the commotions. The institution of lords lieutenants of counties arose out of these disturbances." *

* Penny Cyclop. Art. Edward VI.

Such were some of the strange events of that period of change, during which young Cartwright was enjoying the advantages of Dr. Bill and Mr. Leaver's instructions, in the Halls of St John's College, Cambridge. The unlearned were complaining of the effects of those great political movements, which, however fraught with blessings to later ages, so frequently bring only suffering, uncertainty, and fear, to contemporaries. They were even murmuring at the enactments that released them from spiritual thraldom, and opened up to them no uncertain prospect of liberty and high social privileges, such as no nation had then enjoyed. Doubtless the rumour of these conflicting movements, and the clash of their opposing aims reached the secluded banks of Cam, and were not without their influence on the young scholar's mind. Somerset's protectorate, however, was destined to be even briefer than the reign of the young King in whose name he ruled. The memory of his sway is still preserved in some faint degree by the name of the palace wherein he kept court in the neighbourhood of the capital with almost regal pomp.

His new palace of Somerset House was adorned by him with every conceivable splendour, lavished, as was believed, from the spoils of the Church. Popular envy already regarded with jealousy the wealth of the Protector; and if the reports of his contemporaries may be credited, he employed the power accruing from his viceregal authority to acquire both the site and the materials for his new palace. Every vestige of the old palace of Somerset House has now disappeared, but the handsome modern edifice that occupies its site and bears its name in

the Strand, London, stands as a memorial of the ruler of England during the early minority of Edward VI. The rivals of Somerset in the council, with the Earl of Warwick at their head, prepared themselves for his overthrow by the most violent means. Deserted by every one, he was deposed from the council, brought prisoner to London and committed to the Tower. Though released after a time, and even restored to his seat at the council board, it was a mere passing gleam of fortune. He was brought to trial on charges both of high treason and felony, and condemned to the block, an act which was carried into execution on Tower Hill the 22d of January 1552."

Meanwhile young Thomas Cartwright heard, at most, of these changing fortunes of statesmen in the distant capital, as rumours that little affected the student's retirement. "In this happy seclusion," says his recent biographer, "surrounded with the literature of the times, our young collegian had a wide field for the exercise of his mental endowments, and, by assiduous attention to study, he made reputable proficiency in the various branches of useful literature. From the commencement of his academical pursuits he formed the habit of intense application, to which he adhered all the rest of his days, and allowed himself only *five hours* for sleep through the subsequent stages of life." *

The Earl of Warwick, better known by his title of Duke of Northumberland, though he possessed almost absolute power on the death of his rival, seems to have been very indifferent to the religious questions that then agitated men's minds, notwithstanding his declaration at his

* Brook's Life of Cartwright, p. 38.

death that he had always been a Catholic. Personal aggrandisement and the permanent acquisition of power appear to have been the sole objects he had in view in the line of policy he pursued. "In April 1552," says the biographer already quoted, "Edward was attacked by small-pox; and, although he recovered from that disease, the debility in which it left him produced other complaints, which ere long began to assume an alarming appearance. By the beginning of the following year he was very ill. Northumberland now lost no time in arranging his plans for bringing the crown into his own family. In May his son Lord Guilford Dudley married the Lady Jane Grey, the eldest daughter of the Duchess of Suffolk, who was herself the eldest daughter by her second marriage with Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, of Mary Tudor, the Ex-queen of France, and the daughter of Henry VII., upon whose descendants Henry VIII. had by his will settled the crown on failure of the lines of his son Edward and of his daughters Mary and Elizabeth. This settlement, it is to be remembered, had been made by Henry under the express authority of an act of parliament, which empowered him to dispose of the kingdom to whomsoever he chose, on failure of his three children. Northumberland now applied himself to induce Edward to make a new settlement, excluding Mary and Elizabeth, who had both been declared illegitimate by parliament, and to nominate Lady Jane Grey (in whose favour her mother the Duchess of Suffolk, still alive, agreed to renounce her claim) as his immediate successor. The interest of the Protestant religion (which it was argued would be more secure with a sovereign on the throne whose attachment to

the principles of the Reformation was undoubted, and upon whose birth there was no stain, than if the succession were left to be disputed between the king's two sisters, one of whom was a bigoted Catholic, and the legitimacy of either of whom almost implied the illegitimacy of the other,) is believed to have been the chief consideration that was urged upon the dying prince. Edward at all events was brought over to his minister's views. On the 11th of June, Montague, the chief justice of the Common Pleas, and two of his brethren, were sent for to Greenwich, and desired to draw up a settlement of the crown upon the Lady Jane. After some hesitation they agreed, on the 14th, to comply with the king's commands, on his assurance that a parliament should be immediately called to ratify what was done. When the settlement was drawn up, an engagement to maintain it was subscribed by fifteen lords of the council and nine of the judges. Edward sunk rapidly after this, and lived only till the evening of the 6th of July, when he expired at Greenwich. His death, however, was concealed for two days, and it was not till the 9th that Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed." *

With the death of the young King perished the hopes and the plans of many of the leaders of the first English Reformation. The ill-concerted scheme of Northumberland to set aside the sisters of the King, for his niece Lady Jane Grey, involved his own ruin, with that of the innocent victims of his ambition, and Mary, the eldest daughter of Henry VIII., ascended the English throne, with the general approbation and good wishes of the nation.

* Penny Cyc. Art. Edward VI.

While these events of so great public interest transpired, young Cartwright had been pursuing a course of laborious study at Cambridge for about three years, during which his adherence to the cause of Protestantism and scriptural truth had been strengthened and confirmed by increasing knowledge and the instructions of his tutors. The death of Edward VI. produced an entire revolution in ecclesiastical affairs. Mary was scarcely seated on the throne when she proceeded to re-establish the Romish religion, and re-introduce the mass into the churches. The intolerant proceedings with which its restoration was accompanied both in the churches and the seats of learning, drove multitudes into exile. St John's College, Cambridge, could hardly escape the most rigorous measure of such a government. Its members had acquired no less celebrity by their piety, than their learning, and the cause of the Reformation had been most effectually promoted in its halls. Mr. Lever, the master of the college, with twenty-four of the fellows, and some of the scholars, among whom was young Cartwright, were all forced to abandon their studies and forsake the seat of learning at the University, in consequence of their conscientious adherence to a scriptural faith.

CHAPTER II.

QUEEN MARY'S REIGN.

THE accession of Mary to her brother's throne, and the total overthrow of all the steps that had been taken for

the reformation of the Church and the Christian liberty of the people of England, completely destroyed all the hopes of those who had rejoiced in the promised extension of scriptural instruction, and the purity of teaching of apostolic times, to the benighted people of England in the sixteenth century. Thomas Cartwright, whose studies had been pursued with a view to his taking orders in the church and entering on the duties of the Christian ministry, now saw all his prospects at an end. On his being driven forth from the University he abandoned the thought of prosecuting his studies for the office of the ministry under a government which had proclaimed its determination to tolerate no teaching but that of Rome, and no ministry but the celebration of the Mass.

The recent panegyrist of the Queen of England, on whom popular feeling has conferred the unenviable title of *Bloody Mary*, in describing her triumphant entry to her capital, reveals, perhaps, the most powerful incentive to the persecutions that followed, when she exhibits her throwing herself into the arms of Tunstal and Gardiner, abandoning herself thenceforth to the guidance of those whose intolerance of Protestantism was only the retaliation of felt or fancied wrongs. The whole scene is worth quoting:—

"The Queen was, on the 3rd of August, escorted from Wanstead by great numbers of nobles and ladies, who came to grace her entrance into her capital. A foreigner who was an eye-witness, thus describes her appearance on this triumphant occasion: 'Then came the ladies, married and single, in the midst of whom rode Madame Mary, Queen of England, mounted on a small white

ambling nag, the housings of which were fringed with gold. The Queen was dressed in violet velvet; she seemed about forty years of age, and was rather fresh-coloured.'

"The old city portal of Aldgate, at which the Queen made her entrance into the metropolis, was hung with gay streamers from top to bottom; over the gateway was a stage with seats, on which were placed the charity children of the Spital, singing sweet choruses of welcome to the victorious Queen; the street of Leadenhall, and all down to the Tower, through the Minories, was clean swept and spread with gravel, and was lined with all the crafts in London in their proper dresses, holding banners and streamers. The Lord Mayor, with the mace, was ready to welcome her; and the Earl of Arundel, with the sword of state. A thousand gentlemen, in velvet coats and richly embroidered cloaks, preceded Queen Mary.

"Next the Queen rode her sister Elizabeth; then the Duchess of Norfolk and the Marchioness of Exeter followed, and other noble dames, according to their connexion with the crown, and precedence. The aldermen brought up the rear, and the city guard with bows and javelins. The guard which accompanied Mary, being 3000 horsemen, in uniforms of green and white, red and white, and blue and white, were dismissed by the Queen with thanks, and all departed before she passed the city gate. Mary acted according to the intrepidity of her character, in trusting her person wholly to the care of the civic guard; thus implicitly relying on the fidelity of a city, where a rival had reigned but a few hours before.

"She bent her way direct to the Tower, then under the care of Sir Thomas Cheyney, warden of the Cinque Ports.

Here she meant to sojourn, according to the ancient custom of her predecessors, till the funeral of the late sovereign.

"When Mary entered the precincts of the Tower, a touching sight presented itself to her. Kneeling on the green before St. Peter's church, were the state prisoners, male and female, Catholic and Protestant, who had been detained lawlessly in the fortress during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

"There was Edward Courtenay, the heir to the Earl of Devonshire, now in the pride of manly beauty, who had grown up a prisoner from his tenth year, without education; there was another early friend of the Queen, the wretched Duchess of Somerset; there was the aged Duke of Norfolk, still under sentence of death; and the deprived Bishops of Durham and Winchester, the mild Cuthbert Tunstal and the haughty Stephen Gardiner, which last addressed a congratulation and supplication to the Queen in the name of all. Mary burst into tears as she recognised them, and extending her hands to them, she exclaimed, 'Ye are my prisoners!'

"She raised them one by one, kissed them, and gave them all their liberty. The bishops were instantly restored to their sees; Gardiner was sworn into the Queen's privy counsel (according to the evidence of its journal) so early as the 5th of August. The Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Devonshire were immediately restored to their rank and estates. As the Duke had never been attainted, he took his place with so little delay, that he sat as high steward at the trial of the Duke of Northumberland. Gertrude, Marchioness of Exeter, mother of Courtenay, was made

lady of the bedchamber, with so high a degree of favour that she shared the bed of her royal kinswoman. The Duchess of Somerset was liberated and comforted by the preferment of her family—her son, an infant minor, being restored to his rights, and her daughters, Lady Jane, Lady Margaret, and Lady Mary Seymour, (which last was one of the Queen's numerous god-children,) were appointed maids of honour. They were considered the most learned and accomplished ladies in Europe, excepting the Queen herself, and her hapless rival in sovereignty, Lady Jane Gray. The heirs of the three unfortunate gentlemen, who had suffered with the Protector Somerset, were reinstated in their property; and as Somerset's adherents were zealous Protestants, these actions of Mary, which indubitably sprang from her own free will, being at this juncture uncontrolled by council or husband, ought to be appreciated by those who are willing to test her character by facts.

"The Queen remained in privacy, sojourning at the royal apartments of the Tower till after the funeral of her brother, which was performed with great magnificence. Many historical controversies exist regarding the religious rites of that funeral; but it appears that Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, performed the ceremony for his regretted young sovereign at Westminster Abbey, according to the ritual of the Church of England. At the same time the Queen and her ladies assisted at a solemn dirge and requiem for the repose of his soul in her private chapel in the Tower. This arrangement, in which each party showed their respect for the memory of the deceased, according to their different modes of belief, was far too

rational a method to suit the furious spirits of that dreadful era, and the religious war recommenced in the Tower chapel. A chaplain of the court, one Walker, approached with the censer to cense the Queen, when Dr. Weston thurst him on one side, exclaiming, 'Shamest thou not to do this office, being a priest having a wife? I tell thee the Queen will not be censed by such as thou!'

"The Queen, directly she arrived in London, published a pacific manifesto, exhorting each party to refrain from reviling by the epithets of idolater and heretic. Two proclamations of the kind had been published within a short time. The first promised liberty of conscience unconditionally; in the last a clause was introduced, which declared religion was to be settled by 'common consent,' meaning by act of parliament. Mr. Dobbs presented a petition from the reformers of Ipswich, claiming protection for their religion on the faith of the Queen's first proclamation; but Mr. Dobbs was set in the pillory for his pains—a strange way of answering a petitioner." *

No better authority need be sought for the proceedings that followed on Queen Mary's accession to her brother's throne, than that of her partial apologist Miss Strickland. The first proceedings of pliant divines in the sister University of Oxford, as narrated by her, are worthy of note, in illustration of the proceedings of the period which drove forth Cartwright with his fellow students and teachers, from the halls of learning at Cambridge:—

"Violent struggles took place throughout the month of August between the partisans of the rival rituals for

* Strickland's Lives of the Queens of England, vol. v. p. 301.

possession of churches and pulpits, which were frequently decided by the prevalence of personal strength. For the ostensible purpose of putting an end to scenes disgraceful to religion in general, the Queen issued another proclamation, forbidding any person to preach without her licence, 'till further order by common consent was taken;' meaning by act of parliament. Thus were all preachers silenced who promulgated doctrine contrary to the royal will.

"One of the earliest compliments paid to the Queen on her accession, was the baptism of the great bell at Christ Church (which had been re-cast,) by the name of Mary. The learned Jewel, whose office it was to write the congratulatory letter from Oxford on the Queen's accession, was reading it to Dr. Tresham, a zealous Catholic, for his approbation, when the newly hung bell set out in an earnest call to the first mass that had been celebrated in Oxford since the establishment of the Protestant Church of England. Dr. Tresham broke into an ecstacy—'Oh sweet Mary!' he exclaimed, 'how musically, how melodiously doth she sound!' 'That bell then rung,' adds Fuller, impressively, 'the knell of gospel truth in the city of Oxford, afterwards filled with Protestant tears.'

"However ample her power, as head of the English Church, might be, it was the wish of Queen Mary to resign it, and restore supremacy to the Pope; but Bishop Gardiner, her lord chancellor, was opposed to her intentions. So far from wishing any re-union of England with the see of Rome, he was extremely earnest that Queen Mary should retain her title and authority as head of the English Church. Her answer to him was a remarkable one: 'Women,' she said, 'I have read in Scripture, are

forbidden to speak in the church. Is it then fitting that *your* church should have a dumb head?' " *

The influence, however, of Bishop Gardiner remained supreme, and was frequently exercised in a way that proved how strong he felt the hold to be which he had succeeded in securing over the narrow mind of Queen Mary; of this no stronger evidence could be adduced than the following examples both of permitted mercy and blind concession to his bigoted will. "It is certain," says Miss Strickland, "that till Mary surrendered her great power as head of the church of Henry VIII., the cruelties of her reign did not commence. The only anecdote preserved by Fox, regarding her private conduct towards a Protestant clergyman, it would be difficult to interpret into an act of malice. The arrest of Dr. Edwin Sandys has been mentioned—his offences against the Queen combined an attack on her title, and insult to her worship, nevertheless, she lent a favourable ear to the intercession of one of the ladies of her bedchamber, for his pardon, in case the Bishop of Winchester had no objection. The next time Gardiner came to the privy chamber, the Queen said to him—

" 'Winchester, what think you about Dr. Sandys? is he not sufficiently punished?'

" 'As it pleases your Majesty,' answered Gardiner, who had previously promised that if the Queen was disposed to mercy he would not oppose it.

"The Queen rejoined—'Then, truly, we would have him set at liberty.'

"She signed immediately the warrant for his liberation,

* Strickland's Lives of the Queens of England, vol. v. p. 314

and called on Gardiner to do the same. This action, which redounds so much to her credit, it may be perceived, was only performed by permission of Gardiner. A curious instance of his power occurred about the same time. He thought proper to suppress the two folios containing the paraphrases of Erasmus, translated by Udal, Cox, and Queen Mary. This work had been published by the fathers of the Protestant Church of England, and placed in all churches, in company with the Bible, as the best exposition of the Gospels. Thus one of Queen Mary's acts, as head of the church, was the destruction of her own learned labours. Surely her situation in this instance, as author, queen, and supreme dictator, of a church by no means consonant with her principles as a Roman Catholic, was the most extraordinary in which a woman was ever placed. She did not, however, manifest any of the irritable egotism of an author, but at the requisition of her lord chancellor condemned her own work to the flames, in company with the translations of her Protestant fellow-labourers—an ominous proof of Gardiner's influence, who swayed her in all things excepting her marriage with Philip of Spain; to which he was, in common with the majority of her subjects, of whatever religion they might be, sedulously opposed." *

When Thomas Cartwright was forced to quit his college at Cambridge, he became clerk in the office of a barrister or counsellor-at-law; where he acquired an amount of legal knowledge that afterwards proved of considerable use to him in the controversies and contentions in which he bore so active a share. The influence on his own

* Strickland's Lives of the Queens of England, vol. v. p. 341.

mind consequent on this temporary change of the object of his study was probably on the whole beneficial, while it placed him beyond the sphere of that jealous suspicion which was then haling to prison and judgment all who promised in any way to interfere with the universal supremacy of Popery in England. Nevertheless he did not altogether abandon his favourite studies. He still pursued as he best could his theological reading, and devoted his leisure hours to those branches of literature best calculated to forward the objects of a student of divinity. Above all, it is worthy of note by the student of his biography, that he studied the signs of the times, written in such characters of blood and fire as could not fail to leave a lasting impression on his mind. The reign of Mary was comprised in the short period of five years and five months, yet during that brief reign two hundred and eighty victims perished at the stake, from the 4th of February 1553, when John Rogers suffered Martyrdom at Smithfield, to the 10th of November 1558, only seven days before the wretched Queen expired, when the last *auto-da-fe* took place in England by the execution, in the same terrible manner, of three men and two women at Colchester. England was disgraced alike in foreign and domestic policy. Calais, which was regarded as the key of the Continent, had passed into the hands of France, exciting a universal sense of national degradation. The brief period of her reign had sufficed to render her odious to the whole nation, and her partial biographer has only been able to construct a defence, consistent with the virtues assigned to her, by representing her as a mere puppet in the hands of Bonner and Gardiner, or a blind

instrument of the cruel policy of Philip of Spain. Let it suffice for us that she was the unconscious instrument of Providence, who, by means of the intolerance and horrible cruelties of her government, so effectually branded Popery with its true character as a persecuting church, that under God's blessing it has ever since proved an impossibility to plant the Church of Rome, as a national church, on the soil of England.

The teaching of these brief but eventful years have never been forgotten by the nation, still less likely were they to be lost sight of by the youthful student who, driven forth from the halls of learning, and the study of divinity, was compelled, while pursuing the less attractive studies of the law, to witness in silence the fruits of papal supremacy, of whose intolerance he had been one of the earliest sharers.

CHAPTER III.

THE ROYAL PROGRESS TO CAMBRIDGE.

The accession of Queen Elizabeth led to a complete revolution in the ecclesiastical affairs of England, which, however marred by many despotic and intolerant acts of her government, can never be reverted to without feelings of joy and gratitude as the first distinct and permanent establishment of those principles of the Reformation, from whence have sprung the greatness of England, and the civil and religious liberty which we now enjoy. Elizabeth, however, was the daughter of Henry VIII., inheriting

some of his councillors and far more of his own haughty and obstinate self will. She was the heir of a despotic sceptre, and guarded well the prerogatives of her inheritance against the increasing claims of the Commonwealth.

Universal joy prevailed through England on the accession to the throne of a princess whose interests were opposed to the Romish see, by whom she had been pronounced illegitimate and incapable of succession. Thousands who had fled to the Continent, or withdrawn to the seclusion of remote and little frequented localities, to escape persecution, now joyfully returned to their friends, and united in mutual congratulations at the prospect of liberty of conscience and the free enjoyment of their rights as Englishmen.

Cartwright returned to St. John's College, so soon as he ascertained from the course adopted by the new government, that he was free to resume his studies for the ministry. He soon attracted the notice of Dr. James Pilkington, who was chosen master of his college, and was afterwards promoted to the bishopric of Durham, which he occupied for sixteen years. The early history of St John's College presents some curious features illustrative of the character of the age, and the influence that Cartwright exercised on a very important period of its history gives it a peculiar interest in reference to our present inquiries. The charter of foundation of St John's College is dated April 9, 1511; and may be considered as mainly indebted for its establishment on a permanent basis to the disinterested zeal of the celebrated Bishop Fisher. Its latest historian refers, with little admiration, to the influence exercised by Cartwright on the opinions

of its members. "The puritanical inclinations of the fellows were far from being diminished; [in 1564] many of them had become warm partisans of Cartwright of Trinity, particularly Mr. Fulke, who suffered a temporary expulsion for his opposition to the church-discipline;"* and the same historian adds, in recording the eminent men who have adorned this seat of learning, that "many of the older puritanical writers were of St John's College."

The following is the somewhat prejudiced yet graphic account of the history of this college at the period chiefly affecting the subject of our biography: "St John's College came into being at a difficult period. The first dawn of the reformation in religion was felt nowhere more strongly than in the university; and, itself partly the result of a general intellectual improvement, it brought with it new systems of learning and teaching. In a new foundation, it is not to be wondered at if these innovations were taken up more warmly than in the old establishments, and they were the cause of continual disputes between the master and a large portion of his fellows. Dr. Metcalfe was an old man, and had been formed in the ancient mode of education; and in spite of all the benefits he had conferred upon the college, he was so uneasy in his place, that he resigned the mastership on the 4th of July, 1537. He was succeeded by George Daye, or Deye, a friend of Leland the antiquary, and a man of influence at court, by which he obtained the appointment. The college on this occasion excited the King's anger by proceeding to election of another person. In the same year in which he was appointed, Daye was removed to be made provost

* Memorials of Cambridge. St. John's College, p. 14.

of King's College, and was succeeded in the mastership of St. John's by John Tayler. The dissensions in the college now rose to such a height as to bring on a visitation by the Bishop of Ely in 1542, who succeeded in making a compromise between the two parties, and producing a temporary peace. But the heats soon broke out more fiercely than before, and Tayler was obliged to resign in 1546. The mastership was then given to William Bill, who, as a warm reformer, was more acceptable to the inmates of the college, and they now gave loose to their zeal in destroying all the remnants of Popery. Dr. Bill was removed to Trinity College in 1551, and was succeeded by the celebrated Thomas Lever.

"The reforming zeal of the fellows of St. John's was not likely to be very palatable to the governing powers in the days of Queen Mary; and it has been observed, that at her accession there was a more general and severe expulsion of its members than at any other college. The discomfited reformers sought shelter on the Continent, many of them at Geneva, where their puritanical feelings, already sharpened against the Papists by the temporary triumph of the latter at home, were fostered and increased by the rigid Calvinism of their brother Protestants abroad. On the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, they returned to England full of expectations, and, in their triumph over the Catholics, determined to set no bounds to their reforms. But the maxims of Elizabeth's government were moderation and cautiousness: the Protestant church establishment in England only went a part of the way in the innovations which the German Calvinists had made; and the opposition of the dissatisfied Puritans in Cam-

bridge, where this spirit of discontent was exhibited most strongly, continued to agitate the University during the whole of Elizabeth's long reign. St. John's College, of which Cecil, Lord Burghley, (the chief prop of the moderate party and the chancellor of the university,) was a member, was conspicuous above all the others for the part taken by its fellows in these dissensions.

"When the ejected fellows of St. John's returned from the Continent, bringing with them, as Baker complains, the 'Geneva psalters,' their former master, Lever, received some church preferment instead of being restored to his mastership, which was conferred upon James Pilkington, a learned and pious man, the friend of Bale and Bullinger. The new master, with his brother Leonard Pilkington, one of the senior fellows, occupied themselves zealously in rooting out the superstitions of the preceding reign; they pulled down the altar in the chapel, as well as those in the private chapels, and exchanged the missals and breviaries for service-books from Geneva. But even their zeal was not sufficient to satisfy many of their fellows; James Pilkington, in 1561, exchanged his mastership for the bishopric of Durham, and was succeeded in the former by his brother, who, after three years of continual disputes, also retired from his post to become prebend of Durham, leaving his college in great disorder, so much that, according to the report of the master of Trinity in the same year, 'sundry in St. John's will be very hardly brought to weare surplesses.'" *

In this however we anticipate in some degree the course of events in Cartwright's history. Dr. Pilkington was

* Memorials of Cambridge. St John's College, p. 12.

early attracted by the great learning and abilities of Cartwright, who must have improved with unwearied diligence the very imperfect opportunities for acquiring knowledge afforded him during the years that he occupied himself as a counsellor's clerk. It is even said that it was at Dr. Pilkington's invitation that he resumed his studies at St. John's College. Chalmers remarks, "He became clerk to a counsellor at law: but this did not prevent him from continuing to prosecute his former studies, in which he took more delight than in the profession of the law. He remained in this situation till the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; when the gentleman under whom he was placed as a clerk, having met with Dr. Pilkington, Master of St John's College, Cambridge, he made him acquainted with his strong attachment to literature. In consequence of this the Doctor desired to have some conversation with Mr. Cartwright; when, being convinced of his great abilities and attainments, he offered to take him back to St John's, to which his master consented." * He was soon after advanced to the honourable position of a fellow of this college, from whence he was removed about three years after by receiving the still higher honour of being elected one of the eight senior fellows of Trinity College.

The alteration in Cartwright's position, consequent on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, must have been highly gratifying to him in every respect. He exchanged the dull and uncongenial pursuit of the law for his favourite study of divinity, and entered anew on the career of college life under distinguished patronage, and with the gratifying stimulus of high literary honours. In the year

* Chalmer's Biog. Dict. vol. viii p. 322.

1564, Queen Elizabeth visited the University of Cambridge during one of those royal progresses which were the fashion of the age, and on this occasion Cartwright's high standing among the learned men of the university led to his taking a prominent, though, as it seems from some accounts, not a very acceptable share in the entertainment of the royal visitor.

The following is the account of the Queen's visit to the University of Cambridge, as narrated in Aitkin's Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth: "Of the progresses of her Majesty during several years, nothing remarkable appears on record; they seem to have had no other object than the gratification of her love of popular applause and her taste for magnificent entertainments, which cost her nothing: and the trivial details of her reception at the different towns or mansions which she honoured with her presence, are equally barren of amusement and instruction. But her visit to the University of Cambridge in the summer of 1564 presents too many characteristic traits to be passed over in silence.

"Her gracious intention of honouring this seat of learning with her royal presence was no sooner disclosed to the secretary, who was chancellor of the university, than it was notified by him to the vice-chancellor, with a request that proper persons might be sent to receive his instructions on the subject. It appears to have been part of these instructions, that the University should prepare an extremely respectful letter to Lord Robert Dudley, who was its high-steward; entreating him in such manner to commend to her Majesty their good intentions, and to excuse any their failure in the performance, that she might be inclined to

receive in good part all their efforts for her entertainment. So notorious was at this time the pre-eminent favour of this courtier with his sovereign, and so humble was the style of address to him required from a body so venerable and so illustrious!

"Cecil arrived at Cambridge the day before the Queen, to set all things in order; and received from the University a customary offering of two pairs of gloves, two sugar-loaves and a marchpane. Lord Robert and the Duke of Norfolk were complimented with the same gift; and finer gloves and more elaborate confectionary were presented to the Queen herself.

"When she reached the door of King's College Chapel, the chancellor kneeled down and bade her welcome; and the orator, kneeling on the church steps, made her an harangue of nearly half an hour. First he praised and commended many and singular virtues planted and set in her Majesty; which her highness not acknowledging of, shaked her head, bit her lips and her fingers, and sometimes broke forth into passion and these words; '*Non est veritas, et utinam.*'—On his praising virginity, she said to the orator; 'God's blessing of thy heart, there continue.' After that he showed what joy the University had of her presence, &c. When he had done she commended him, and much marvelled that his memory did so well serve him, repeating such diverse and sundry matters; saying, that she would answer him again in Latin, but for fear she should speak false Latin; and then they would laugh at her.

"This concluded, she entered the chapel in great state; Lady Strange, a princess of the Suffolk line, bearing her train; and her ladies following in their degrees. *Te*

Deum was sung, and the evening service performed with all the pomp that Protestant worship admits, in that magnificent temple of which she highly extolled the beauty. The next morning, which was Sunday, she went thither again to hear a Latin sermon *ad clerum*, and in the evening, the body of this solemn edifice being converted into a temporary theatre, she was there gratified with a representation of the Aulularia of Plautus. Offensive as such an application of a sacred building would be to modern feelings, it probably shocked no one in an age when the practice of performing dramatic entertainments in churches, introduced with the mysteries and moralities of the middle ages, was scarcely obsolete and certainly not forgotten. Neither was the representation of plays on Sundays at this time regarded as an indecorum."*

The entertainments selected for the third day consisted, in the morning, of a public disputation conducted by the aptest controversialists of the university, who, according to the fashion derived from the practice of the schoolmen, discussed the following questions in presence of her Majesty: "Is monarchy the most eligible kind of government?" and, "Is the frequent change of laws dangerous?" The ripest and most learned men, according to Strype, were selected for the disputants, and Mr. Cartwright being one of these appears to have greatly distinguished himself.† It is probable indeed, from all we can learn, that Cartwright displayed on this occasion far more acumen and learning than was palatable to his royal auditor. It is likely that he undertook to defend the negative on

* Aitkin's Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 368.

† Chalmer's Biog. Dict. vol. viii. p. 323.

the first question propounded, and independent of the dangerous doctrines which, even for the sake of argument, he was necessitated to uphold, the occasion was probably one of too tempting a nature for him to omit the introduction of some of those independent views entertained by him on questions of ecclesiastical polity, for which he suffered so much afterwards. There can be no question, however, that the aspersions cast on Cartwright's character, based on his presumed offence at slights received on this occasion from her Majesty, are altogether without foundation. They are thus summarily and most effectually dismissed by the impartial historian of Protestant Nonconformity. "Sir George Paule, the panegyrist rather than the biographer of Whitgift, has attempted to discredit Cartwright by impugning his motives. In the year 1564, on the occasion of Elizabeth's visit to the University, Cartwright, as one of the most learned of that body, was chosen, with others, to dispute before her. Paule represents him as mortified by the neglect with which the Queen treated him, and as proceeding immediately to Geneva, 'that he might the better feed his humour.' 'Mr. Cartwright,' he says, 'immediately after her Majesty's neglect of him, began to wade into diverse opinions, as that of the *discipline;* and to kick against her ecclesiastical government'—Life of Whitgift, 10, Heylin, Hist. of Reformation, 164; and Collier, Ecclesiastical Hist. ii. 492, have retailed this slander; in which unworthy conduct they have been followed by several modern writers. Fuller mentions the charge with evident marks of distrust. 'We find one great scholar,' he remarks, 'much discontented, if my author may be believed,

namely, Mr. Thomas Cartwright. He and Thomas Preston were appointed two of the four disputants in the philosophy act before the Queen. Cartwright had dealt most with the muses, Preston with the graces, adorning his learning with comely carriage, graceful gesture, and pleasing pronunciation. Cartwright disputed like a great, Preston like a genteel scholar, being a handsome man; and the Queen, upon parity of deserts, always preferred properness of person, in conferring her favours.' And he adds, 'Mr. Cartwright's followers credit not the relation. Adding, moreover, that the Queen did highly commend, though not reward him.'—Hist. of the University of Cambridge, 139. Cartwright's general character is sufficient to discredit this account. But its inaccuracy is rendered more apparent by the fact that his visit to Geneva, which Paule represents as the consequence of his disgust at the Queen's neglect, and as the source of those opinions for which he was deprived of his professorship, did not take place till after his expulsion from the university. Strype exonerates Cartwright, alleging that, 'by the *relation* of the Queen's reception at Cambridge (now in the hands of a learned member of that university,) there appears no clear ground for any such discontent. For the Queen is there said to have approved them all; only that Preston pleased her most; and was made her scholar, with the settlement of a yearly honorary salary on him.'—Annals i. ii. 107. His elevation to the divinity chair, in 1569, is ample evidence of the estimation in which he was held by the University, and would have sufficed to calm his spirit had it been perturbed by such emotions as his enemies were forward

in attributing to him. It was due to the memory of this eminent man to vindicate him from so foul an aspersion. But what must we think of those modern libellers, who, passing over the admission of Strype, and the mistrust of Fuller, retail the venom of Paule, Heylin, and Collier?" *

Whatever may have been her Majesty's sentiments as to the debates of the learned doctors, no stop was put to the cumbrous levities provided for her entertainment. The same evening a Latin play, founded on the story of Dido, gave variety to their proceedings, and "On the fourth, an English play called Ezechias was performed before her. The next morning she visited the different colleges; at each of which a Latin oration awaited her, and she received a parting present of gloves and confectionary, with a volume richly bound, containing the verses in English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldee, composed by the members of each learned society in honour of her visit.

Afterwards she repaired to St. Mary's church, where a very long and very learned disputation by the doctors in divinity was prepared for her amusement and edification. When it was ended, "the lords, and especially the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Robert Dudley, kneeling down, humbly desired her Majesty to speak something to the University, and in Latin. Her Highness at the first refused, saying, that if she might speak her mind in English, she would not stick at the matter. But understanding by Mr. Secretary that nothing might be said openly to the University in English, she required him the rather to speak; because he was chancellor, and the chancellor is the Queen's mouth. Whereunto he answered, that he was

* Price's Hist. of Nonconformity vol. i. *foot note*, p. 215.

chancellor of the University, and not hers. Then the Bishop of Ely kneeling, said, that three words of her mouth was enough." By entreaties so urgent, she appeared to suffer herself to be prevailed upon to deliver a speech which had doubtless been prepared for the occasion; and very probably by Cecil himself. This harangue is not worth transcribing at length; it contained some disqualifying phrases respecting her own proficiency in learning, and a pretty profession of feminine bashfulness in delivering an unstudied speech before so erudite an auditory: her attachment to the cause of learning was then set forth, and a paragraph followed which may thus be translated: "I saw this morning your sumptuous edifices founded by illustrious princes, my predecessors, for the benefit of learning; but while I viewed them my mind was affected with sorrow, and I sighed like Alexander the Great, when, having perused the records of the deeds of other princes, turning to his friends or counsellors, he lamented that any one should have preceded him either in time or in actions. When I beheld your edifices, I grieved that I had done nothing in this kind. Yet did the vulgar proverb somewhat lessen, though it could not entirely remove my concern, that—Rome was not built in a day. For my age is not yet so far advanced, neither is it yet so long since I began to reign, but that before I pay my debt to nature—unless Atropos should prematurely cut my thread—I may still be able to execute some distinguished undertaking: and never will I be diverted from the intention while life shall animate this frame. Should it however happen, as it may, I know not how soon, that I should be overtaken by death before I have

been able to perform this my promise, I will not fail to leave some great work to be executed after my decease by which my memory may be rendered famous, others excited by my example, and all of you animated to greater ardour in your studies."

"After such a speech, it might naturally be inquired, which college did she endow? But alas! the prevailing disposition of Elizabeth was the reverse of liberal: and her revenues, it may be added, were narrow. During the whole course of her long reign, scarcely a single conspicuous act of public munificence sheds its splendour on her name; and the pledge thus solemnly and publicly given, was never redeemed by her, living or dying. An annuity of twenty pounds bestowed, with the title of *her scholar*, on a pretty young man of the name of Preston, whose graceful performance in a public disputation and in the Latin play of Dido had particularly caught her fancy, appears to have been the only solid benefit bestowed by her Majesty in return for all the cost and all the learned incense lavished on her reception by this loyal and splendid University."*

The whole scene is strikingly illustrative of the vanity and adulation that formed such prominent characteristics of every scene of Queen Elizabeth's court, and appears sufficiently strange to modern readers when the most prominent actors are the learned doctors of the University of Cambridge. The Rev. B. Brook, the laborious and accurate biographer of Cartwright, furnishes a very different view of some of the proceedings of this royal reception from that given by most of the older writers who have referred to the Queen's visit, and derived it from Paule,

* Aikin's Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 370.

the prejudiced biographer of Cartwright's great opponent, Archbishop Whitgift. "Her Majesty," says Mr. Brook, "on this occasion took her leave of the University, by the delivery of a Latin oration, addressed to the learned collegians. This was an exhibition never witnessed in that seat of learning before nor since: a virgin queen before a body of venerable scholars and divines, addressing them in the language of a scholar, but with the tone of a sovereign. She said, among other things:—'PRINCIPUM DICTA LEGUM AUCTORITATEM APUD SUBDITOS RETINENT.' *The words of Princes have the authority of laws with their subjects!*

"Fuller remarks that all persons were pleased with the royal visit: but a modern author affirms, that he was sure, and subsequent events proved, that they could not be all pleased; and no English university, he trusted, would now be pleased to be dictated to in the very language of the civil law by an English queen, however learned. The Catholics were not pleased; the Puritans could not be pleased; and many of the University, who wore the smile of approbation, were surely not inwardly pleased.

"This was an occurrence not to be forgotten in the university; and certain authors have observed that, while the other disputants were applauded and rewarded by the royal visitor, Mr. Cartwright was slighted and neglected; and that Preston, by comely gesture and a pleasing pronunciation, was both esteemed and rewarded by her Majesty; but that our scholar received neither reward nor commendation; also that he was presumptuous of his learning, and ungraceful in his elocution. One author affirms, that he was 'unhewn and awkward both in his

person and manners;' and another, who styles him 'the great father of Puritanism,' a person of 'some eminence' but 'great ambition,' that the Queen 'more critically approved of the lighter elegances in which the grave Cartwright was deficient.' It was to be expected that those who did not relish his principles would represent him as exceedingly disconcerted and mortified by the supposed slight cast upon him; and they even affirmed that he began immediately to wade into divers opinions concerning church discipline, and to despise the government of the Established Church, growing conceited of his learning and holiness, and a great contemner of those who differed from him!" *

On this he remarks shortly after: "On supposition that her Majesty did not condemn but despise Cartwright, who can imagine that a man in his circumstances would be so much disturbed with so mere a trifle? Had he been a courtier, aspiring after preferment, there would certainly have been greater plausibility in the story; but academics, especially those of 'natural roughness,' do not usually make much account of the judgment of a woman. It is somewhat gratifying, however, to be able to reflect additional light on this subject. From the original document, furnishing a particular account of her Majesty's reception at Cambridge, it is most obvious that there was no cause of discontent whatever, as here stated in the words of the historian. 'Reports have commonly been spread that the cause of Cartwright's setting himself openly against the hierarchy, as he did soon after, was from a disgust he took at this time, as though the Queen showed more

* Brook's Life of Cartwright, p. 41

countenance to the other disputants than to him. But, by the *relation* of the Queen's reception at Cambridge, there appears no clear ground for any such discontent, for the Queen is there said to have *approved them all;* only that Preston pleased her *most,* and was made her scholar, with the settlement of an annual salary, and was allowed to kiss her Majesty's hand." *

So far, therefore, we may look upon Cartwright's university career as altogether honourable, and attended by such marks of esteem and favour as his high standing and great scholarship merited, nor did the honours which had thus rewarded his laborious zeal cease for some years thereafter to animate him to further exertions by their continuance.

CHAPTER IV.

LADY MARGARET'S PROFESSORSHIP OF DIVINITY.

SOON after the Queen's visit to Cambridge, in 1564, extreme measures were resorted to in order to secure that complete uniformity in all matters pertaining to religion, which it was the darling scheme of Elizabeth and several of her most influential advisers to bring about. Strype records, in the following year, a vehement remonstrance from the heads of houses, against the threatened reimposition on the students, of "the old popish habits," and at the same period the capital was still more effectually excited by the citation of the London clergy before

* Brook's Life of Cartwright, p. 43.

Archbishop Parker, at Lambeth, and the suspension, sequestration, and imprisonment of about forty of the most conscientious, and highly esteemed among them, who had refused to conform to all the minutiæ of habits and procedure which it was sought to enforce. "It is marvellous to consider," says Strype, "how much these clercial habits were abhorred by many honest and well-meaning men: accounting them *antichristian ceremonies*, and so styling; and by no means to be used in a true Christian church." "The attention of the Queen's government," says Price, in his History of Protestant Nonconformity, "was at length attracted to these diversities in the apparel and service of the church. They are noted by Cecil in a paper dated February 14, 1564, in the following manner:—Varieties in the service and administration used. Some say the service and prayers in the chancel; others in the body of the church. Some say the same in a seat made in the church; some in the pulpit, with their faces to the people. Some keep precisely the order of the book; others intermeddle psalms in metre. Some say with a surplice; others without a surplice. The table standeth in the body of the church in some places; in others it standeth in the chancel. In some places the table standeth altarwise, distant from the wall yard; in some other in the middle of the chancel, north and south. In some places the table is joined; in others it standeth upon trussels. In some the table hath a carpet; in others it hath none. Some with surplice and cap; some with surplice alone; others with none. Some with chalice; some with a communion cup; others with a common cup. Some with unleavened bread, and

some with leavened. [He might have added, some with wafers, some with common manchet bread.] Some receive kneeling, others standing, others sitting. Some baptize at a font, some in a bason. Some sign with the sign of the cross; others sign not. Some minister in a surplice, others without. Some with a square cap; some with a round cap; some with a button cap; some with a hat. Some in scholars' clothes, some in others.

"The Queen addressed a letter to the Archbishop reflecting severely on these diversities, and requiring him to proceed to their correction. 'We mean not,' said the daughter of Henry, 'to endure or suffer any longer these evils thus to proceed, spread, and increase in our realm; but have certainly determined to have all such diversities, varieties, and novelties amongst those of the clergy and our people, as breed nothing but contention, offence, and breach of common charity, and are also against the laws, good usages, and ordinances of our realm, to be reformed and repressed, and brought to one manner of uniformity through our whole realm and dominions.' The Archbishop is therefore commanded to confer with his brethren in the ecclesiastical commission, and to take such measures as that 'uniformity of order may be kept in every church, without variety and contention.' They were to admit none to preferment who were not well disposed to the common order, and would not promise to use the same 'in truth, concord, and unity; for we intend,' says the Queen, 'to have no dissension or variety grow, by suffering of persons which maintain the same to remain in authority.' The Archbishop was not disinclined to the course which the Queen's letter prescribed.

He was as rigid a disciplinarian as herself, though on somewhat different grounds. She acted as a politician, he as a divine; the one was offended at the transgression of her commands, the other was concerned to maintain the uniformity of his church. Elizabeth regarded the ecclesiastical as subordinate to the secular interests of her state, while Parker, with the illiberality and intolerance of a bigot, urged the duty of the magistrate to support the dogmas of the priest. But the Archbishop had now entered on a work surrounded with greater difficulties than he anticipated. It was not so easy as he imagined to subdue the rising spirit of the clergy, sustained as that spirit was by the esteem and applause of the better portion of the community. The Puritans also had powerful friends even in the Queen's council, and amongst the dignitaries of the church, whose influence frequently availed to check the persecuting career of Parker, and at length to becloud his latter days." *

The same historian gives the following narrative of the opposition to the habits at Cambridge, to which it will not be uninteresting to add the preceding account of the celebrated John Fox's refusal to subscribe. "John Fox, the martyrologist, was also summoned before the commissioners at Lambeth. Though he had done eminent service in the Protestant cause, he was long neglected, on account of his aversion to the habits, and at length was in danger of losing the little preferment he had obtained. Being required to subscribe (in hope that his compliance would influence others,) he produced a copy of the Greek New Testament, declaring, 'To this will I subscribe.'

* Price's Hist. of Nonconformity, vol. i. p. 167

And when he was urged with the canons, he refused, saying, 'I have nothing in the church save a prebend at Salisbury, and much good may it do you if you will take it away.' His unequaled labours on behalf of the Protestant faith saved the martyrologist of the church from the condemnation of its rulers. He had been their companion in exile, and was favoured by some from sincere regard, and connived at by others through fear or shame. The sturdiest advocate of uniformity could not, for very shame, punish so eminent a labourer in the Protestant cause.

"Great opposition to the clerical habits was evinced at Cambridge. Nearly three hundred of the fellows and scholars of St. John's College, in the absence of Dr. Longworth, the master, came into the chapel without their hoods and surplices, and continued to do so after his return. A similiar hostility was evinced by the members of Trinity College, and was known extensively to prevail in other branches of the University. These things were soon reported to Sir William Cecil, the chancellor, who wrote to the vice-chancellor, acquainting him with the great displeasure of the Queen, and requiring him immediately to call 'the heads of the colleges, and other grave graduates, whom that leprosy had not touched, and to recommend his most hearty and earnest desire to every one of them, that as they intended the honour of God, the preservation of Christian unity, the good name of that honourable and famous University, the favor of their sovereign lady the Queen towards the same; and lastly (which was, he said, of least estimation,) as they regarded his poor good will towards the whole body, and every good member of the same, so they

would persist and continue in the observation of uniform order in these external things, which of themselves were of none other value but to make a demonstration of obedience, and to render a testimony of unity.' The visitation of St. John's pertaining to the Bishop of Ely, Cecil wrote to him, desiring he would exercise his jurisdiction, if it should be necessary, for the correction of such misdemeanours. So vigilant and decisive was the policy of the Queen's government at this period. Several heads of colleges, apprehending serious mischiefs to the University, from an enforcement of the habits, addressed a letter to the Chancellor, stating the conscientious scruples which some of their members entertained, and the probability of their leaving the University, and the loss which would be consequent thereon, if the habits were enforced. They expressed their deliberate judgment that the removal of this burden would be without inconvenience or danger, while its imposition would prove very injurious to the preaching of the gospel, and to sound learning. This letter produced no other effect than that of confirming the court and ecclesiastical commission in their purpose of enforcing the obnoxious habits. Longworth was summoned to London and compelled to sign a paper acknowledging his guilt in permitting such innovations, and promising to do his utmost to enforce the Queen's injunctions. And the others who had concurred with him made their peace by submissive letters, in which they displayed more meanness of spirit than honest attachment to truth. But the object of these measures was unattained, for the University continued a nursery of Puritanism, and replenished its ranks

from time to time with learned and able advocates. The bold spirit of this rising party, apparent even in its early movements, naturally engaged the sympathies of the young. It was in unison with the temper of the times, and, as displaying a healthy and vigorous Protestantism, was welcomed to the confidence, and aided by the prayers, of the more enlightened and devout part of the community."

None of these proceedings, however, appear to have affected the position or circumstances of Cartwright. He continued to pursue the quiet and congenial tenour of life, which the halls of a university afford to the ardent student, and rather less than two years after the intolerant proceedings we have referred to as enacted in London under the auspices of Archbishop Parker, he took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity.

No record now exists of the nature of those occupations that engaged the time of Mr. Cartwright, during the two following years after taking this step; but the honourable post to which he was immediately afterwards appointed, sufficiently attests the diligent use he made of his time, and the estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries at the University. In the year 1569, he was chosen Professor of Divinity, in the professorship founded by Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the mother of Henry VII, from which he was called Lady Margaret's Divinity-reader. The high standing to which Cartwright was thus promoted was sufficiently attested by the dignity to which his predecessor, Dr. Chadderton, was advanced, he having resigned his professorship to become successively Bishop of Chester and of Lincoln.

Cartwright greatly distinguished himself in his new office, and won for himself the increasing admiration of all who attended his lectures by the learning and piety for which they were distinguished. "It is particularly mentioned," says Chalmers, "that he read upon the first and second chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, and performed it with such acuteness of wit, and such solidity of judgment, as excited the admiration of his hearers." *

It is a curious evidence of how great a change had taken place in the state of the popular mind, no less than in the prevailing opinions in the national universities, to find a man noted for his puritanical tendencies and who soon after became the avowed leader of the Nonconformists in England, thus advancing to successive honours in the University, and appointed to one of the most influential and important professorships, more than four years after the determined persecution of the clergy of the capital, and the compulsory submission of the leaders of the University. The minds of the younger members of the University were then filled with all the ardour for liberty, and the desire for truth, consequent on their recent enfranchisement from the terrible moral and spiritual bondage of Popery. The educated classes were, in that age, far in advance of every other in their desire for a more extended reformation, while ignorance or self-interest alone originated the passive spirit of contented endurance. The popularity of Cartwright continued to increase, and his influence to extend, so that his public lectures were flocked to by crowds of admiring auditors. "He became so famous as a preacher," says Chalmers, "that when it came to his

* Chalmer's Biog. Dict, vol. viii. p. 323.

turn to preach at St. Mary's Church, the sexton was obliged to take down the windows, on account of the multitudes that came to hear him." *

It was against such zealous and favoured teachers as these that the despotic court of Elizabeth directed all the influence of an intolerant government in the vain hope of compelling the nation to a sterile uniformity. "In the first period of their history," says Mr. Price, "the Puritans were opposed only to the habits, and a few of the ceremonies of the church. Had their scruples been respected, or any disposition been evinced to meet their case with fairness and charity, their opposition, probably, would not have proceeded farther. Attached to the church by many of the most powerful ties which can bind the human mind, they would gladly have remained in her communion: but, when their consciences were forced; when attempts were made to constrain their performance of services which they disapproved; when the bishops, instead of being overseers, became lords of the Church of Christ, and pursued with avidity every scheme which could increase their wealth, or strengthen their power; then the Puritans were driven to a closer and more scrutinizing examination of the existing system than they would otherwise have instituted."

The consequence of such a compulsory system was only the more speedy development of those varieties of opinions which are more or less incidental to the human mind. The Roman Catholic boasts of his one and indivisible church, and contrasts it with the jarring differences of Protestant sects, but it is ignorance alone that can be

* Chalmer's Biog. Dict. vol. viii. p. 323.

deceived by such specious arguments. History affords abundant evidence of the jarring sects that have divided the Romish Church. It had its Augustines, its Franciscans, its Dominicans, its Jesuits, and its Jansenists, all persecuting one another, at times even to the death; it is Protestantism alone that has made it assume the semblance of the unity which it boasts of. There seems in truth a natural tendency in the human mind to arrange under several classes. There are some of whom it may be said that their minds have a natural bias towards Congregational or Presbyterian forms of church polity, while others are no less keenly predisposed in favour of Episcopacy. Happily, whatever may have been the seeds of contention which such differences engendered during the period of our national history in which Thomas Cartwright played so prominent a part, Christians of every denomination are learning a greater spirit of union on those fundamental points of our common faith which are altogether independent of controversies of church government.

CHAPTER V.

THE SIX PROPOSITIONS.

THE very limited tolerance to all free inquiry, and to the liberty of discussion, which characterised the reign of Queen Elizabeth, affords a strikingly painful example of the inconsistency of the human mind, and the very slow

progress of all great principles in gaining an ascendancy over long-cherished prejudices. Queen Elizabeth had herself been branded with illegitimacy, subjected to harsh durance, and kept in terror of her life during her intolerant sister's reign, and among her advisers were those who had only escaped the prison and the stake by hasty flight to foreign lands, or by the providential death of the tyrant who stained the annals of England by the terrible deeds of her brief reign. Nevertheless, though the means adopted for compelling the nation to conform to the opinions of its ruler were less bloody than those of the previous reign the spirit of intolerance was as prominently displayed in the enactments and proceedings of Elizabeth and her advisers, as it had been in those of Henry VIII. or Queen Mary. The only apology that can be offered for this is to be found in the fact, that the principles of freedom of conscience were then only very imperfectly understood by the most liberal and enlightened men, and very few, even of the most zealous reformers, were inclined to extend the liberty of private judgment further than was needed to include their own conceptions of truth within its compass.

The presumptuous spirit of infallibility claimed by the Church of Rome, was scarcely less dogmatically assumed by the Queen and rulers of England, though less in the latter case, perhaps, as a matter of faith, than of policy. The effects, however, which it produced were diametrically opposed to those which its promoters designed. The variety of opinions ever found among any large body of thoughtful men, were here forced into collision, stimulated alike by the highest hopes and by the most selfish

passions of our nature, and the consequence was jarring contentions, and ever increasing diversities of opinion, the influence of which is still operating in our own day.

Both in the lectures and sermons delivered by Mr. Cartwright to the students of the university, and to the crowds that flocked to listen to him at St Mary's Church, he freely followed the example of the earlier reformers, appealing to the Scriptures as the sole rule of life, and the only standard of authority to which to have recourse for establishing the doctrine and the discipline of the church. The views which he propounded, however acceptable to his audiences, were frequently little in accordance with the views of men in power. The Episcopal form of church government, as established by Queen Elizabeth, found little favour in his sight, and he freely advocated such a system of presbyterial parity as had been generally preferred by the reformers of the Continent and of Scotland. The most vehement opposition was made to the promulgation of such sentiments by a professor of divinity. Those who approved of the established form of church government strove by arguments and by every species of opposition to counteract the influence of Cartwright's opinions, and foremost among his opponents was Dr. Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who strove to refute from the pulpit of St. Mary's Church, the sentiments set forth by Mr. Cartwright in the same place, and to the same auditors.

The consequences, says the historian of the Nonconformists, of the constraint to which the Puritans were subjected, "was a rejection of the Episcopal order, and preference of the Presbyterian form of church government.

They had seen this latter system at Geneva, and other places on the Continent, and had witnessed the struggles recently made on its behalf in the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland." Having thus pointed out the consequences that ensued from the coersive policy of Queen Elizabeth's government, Mr. Price goes on to describe the head of the party whom it had forced into being. "The leader of this section of the Puritan body—which rapidly increased in numbers, and was eminent for zeal, activity, and learning—was Thomas Cartwright, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Lady Margaret's professor of that university. He was a man of distinguished learning, and of undoubted piety; with controversial powers well fitted to the age in which he lived, and an ardent temperament, that no discouragements or difficulties could subdue. In his divinity lectures he advocated the equality of ministers, and a return to the discipline of apostolic times. His popularity in the university was great, especially amongst the students, who flocked to his lectures, and eagerly imbibed his sentiments. The chancellor was soon informed of his proceedings; and Grindal, now Archbishop of York, at the suggestion of some of the heads of colleges, addressed a letter to Cecil, praying him to interpose his authority for the correction of so great an evil. This letter is dated June 24, 1570, and represents Cartwright as making 'daily invections against the external policy and distinction of states, in the ecclesiastical government of this realm.' 'The youth of the university,' says Grindal, 'which is at this time very toward in learning, doth frequent his lectures in great numbers; and therefore in danger to be poisoned by him with love of

contention and liking of novelties; and so become hereafter, not only unprofitable, but also hurtful to the church.' He therefore prayed the chancellor to cause Cartwright and his adherents to be silenced, 'both in schools and pulpits;' and, if they did not conform, to be expelled 'out of their colleges, or out of the university, as the cause shall require.' Also, that Cartwright should be prevented from taking his degree, as doctor of divinity, for which he had made application! Letters were also sent to Sir William Cecil, by some members of the University, in vindication of Cartwright; for 'he had,' says Strype, 'a great party in the University, and some of them men of learning, who stuck close to him, exceedingly admiring him.' He himself, in an elegant Latin letter, dated July 9, 1570, declared to the chancellor, 'that none was so averse to sedition, and the study of contention, and that he had taught nothing which flowed not naturally from the text which he treated of. And that, when an occasion offered itself of speaking concerning the *habits*, he waived it. He denied not but that he taught that our ministry declined from the ministry of the ancient and apostolical church; which he wished might be framed and modelled according to the purity of our reformation. But that he did this sedately, that none could find fault with it but some ignorant or malign hearers, or such as catched at something to calumniate him.' The chancellor after maturely considering the matter, sent a letter to the heads of the University, enjoining on both parties perfect silence respecting the controverted points. He appears to have been satisfied of Cartwright's integrity, and was disposed to proceed with tenderness towards him. 'How

far,' he says, 'Mr. Cartwright herein proceeded, I cannot certainly determine; being by himself, and a testimonial of others of that University, of good name, advertised in one sort; and by others also there, whom I have cause to trust, in another sort. What mind he had in the moving of these matters, by himself in communication, I perceive the same not to be much reprehended; being, as it seemeth, not of any arrogancy, or intention to move troubles; but, as a reader of the Scriptures, to give notes, by way of comparison, between the order of the ministry in the times of the apostles, and the present times now in this Church of England.'

"Whitgift and his associates, instead of following the advice of their chancellor, proceeded to admonish Cartwright to retract his opinions. This he firmly refused to do; and was, in consequence, deprived of his stipend, though permitted to continue his lectures." *

Other authorities differ from Clarke, whom Price has followed, in the latter statement, of Cartwright being permitted to continue his lectures; nor does it seem at all probable that sentiments so opposed to those on which the Church of England had been remodeled, should have been permitted to be promulgated to the students of the University from a professor's chair, after their nature had been so distinctly explained. In his letter to Sir William Cecil, Cartwright "asserted that he had the utmost reason to believe that he should have obtained the testimony of the University in favour of his innocence, had not the vice-chancellor denied him a congregation. He solicited the protection of the chancellor, so far as his cause was

* Price's Hist of Nonconformity, vol. I. p. 214.

just; and transmitted to him a testimonial of his innocence, signed by several learned members of the University, and in which his abilities, learning, and integrity, were spoken of in very high terms. After this he was cited to appear before Dr. Mey, the vice-chancellor of the University, and some of the heads of houses, and examined upon sundry articles of doctrine said to be delivered by him in his public lectures, and which were affirmed to be contrary to the religion received and allowed by public authority in the realm of England; and it was demanded of him, whether he would stand to those opinions and doctrines, or whether he would renounce them. Mr. Cartwright desired that he might be permitted to commit to writing what his judgment was upon the points in controversy; which being assented to, he drew up six propositions to the following purport, and which he subscribed with his own hand:—I. The names and functions of archbishops and archdeacons ought to be abolished. II. The offices of the lawful ministers of the church, viz. bishops and deacons, ought to be reduced to the apostolical institution: bishops to preach the word of God and pray, and deacons to be employed in taking care of the poor. III. The government of the church ought not to be entrusted to bishops, chancellors, or the officials of archdeacons; but every church should be governed by its own minister and presbyters. IV. Ministers ought not to be at large, but every one should have the charge of a certain flock. V. No man should solicit, or stand as a candidate for the ministry. VI. Bishops should not be created by civil authority, but ought to be openly and fairly chosen by the church."—Propositions also which were said to be

dangerous and seditious were collected out of Mr. Cartwright's lectures, and sent to court by Dr. Whitgift, to incense the Queen and chancellor against him; and he was forbidden by the vice-chancellor and heads of the University to read any more lectures till they should receive some satisfaction that he would not continue to propagate the same opinions. He was also prevented from taking his doctor's degree by the authority of the vice-chancellor: which appears to have given great umbrage to many in the university, and to have occasioned a considerable disturbance." *

We have already expressed our opinion in no mistakeable terms as to the intolerant system pursued by Queen Elizabeth and her advisers, in dealing with all who ventured to differ from the opinions maintained by her on every question relating to religion or ecclesiastical polity. The most haughty spiritual ruler of the Romish Church could not surpass the avowal of her determination of enforced uniformity thus expressed in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury:—"That no man should be suffered to decline either to the left or to the right hand, from the drawn line limited by authority, and by her laws and injunctions." So long as the controversy involved questions of habits and formal ceremonies, the intolerance is only rendered the more apparent, by the insignificance of the points in dispute. We cannot, however, go the length of those who seem to regard all interference with the promulgation by Mr. Cartwright of whatever sentiments he might conscientiously adopt, as indefensible and unjust.

* Chalmer's Biog. Dict. vol. viii. p. 324.

"Mr. Cartwright," says his recent biographer Mr. Brook, "in his public lectures, discussed the abuses in the church, but in the most peaceable and respectful manner; and where was the evil of this? Was it not equally honourable in him, as it was in reformers of an earlier period to lay open existing corruptions? All churchmen, in the days of King Edward, considered this a duty which they owed to God, and a practice highly commendable and useful. Why then should similar conduct be grievously censured in the reign of Elizabeth? Were the errors of Popery to be detected and reformed, but the popish corruptions intermixed with Protestantism, to pass unreformed and unnoticed? Unless abuses had been exposed in the sermons and writings of learned men, how could they have been sufficiently known, or whence detected and removed? The Continental Reformers, as already stated, recommended the reforming ministers to submit to the ecclesiastical impositions for a time, till they could be removed; but they never dissuaded from speaking against them: on the contrary, they exhorted all persons to use their utmost efforts, publicly and privately, to get them abolished. Nor could there be any sufficient reason for blaming Mr. Cartwright, or any other minister, for discharging a duty which he owed to God and his church, to conscience and his country.

"On this interesting principle our divine acted in perfect agreement with his brother reformers, maintaining with scrupulous firmness that it was every man's indispensable duty to promote reform, according to the particular station he occupied in society. The noble principle on which he acted is thus expressed: 'When I say, accord-

ing to his particular station, I mean that a magistrate by his authority, a minister by his preaching, and all by their prayers, ought to further it.' This just and honourable principle on which he conducted his lectures was deserving of universal commendation; and we are persuaded that no true Protestant will censure him for aiding the great and good work, according to the station in which God had placed him." *

If however, we believe, as there cannot be shown good reason for doubting, that the Episcopal Church of England had been established with the approval of the great majority of the pious and educated Protestants of England under Edward VI., and had been revived by Queen Elizabeth, after its temporary suppression by Mary and her priests, then it may be perfectly admissible for the true Protestant who reads Mr. Cartwright's six propositions to question how far he was justified in continuing to fill the chair of divinity at Cambridge, only to inculcate principles opposed to those on which the whole system of ecclesiastical polity was based. To say, as Mr. Brook does, that the "principles on which he conducted his lectures was deserving of universal commendation," is surely a most partial judgment, seeing that no church, be it Independent, Presbyterian, or Episcopalian, could tolerate such a system of teaching. The interference of Archbishop Grindal at this period serves to show the view taken of Mr. Cartwright's proceedings by the most liberal of his opponents. In the letter addressed by him to the chancellor of the University, June 24, 1570, he says:—"I am to move you for the University of Cam-

* Brook's life of Cartwright, p. 49.

bridge, which, if you help not speedily, your authority will shortly grow to great disorder. There is one Cartwright, Bachelor of Divinity, and reader of my Lady Margaret's divinity lecture, who, as I am very credibly informed, maketh in his lectures daily invectives against the external policy and distinction of states in the ecclesiastical government of this realm. His own positions, and some other assertions which have been uttered by him, I send herewith. The youth of the university, who are at this time very toward in learning, frequent his lectures in great numbers, and therefore are in danger of being poisoned by him with love of contention and liking of novelties, and so becoming hereafter not only unprofitable, but also hurtful to the church."

The great difficulty here with the impartial reader is to discriminate between the check put upon a public teacher, whose instructions were opposed to the constitution of the church, and the silencing, not only in the chair but in the pulpit, of a conscientious divine, zealous to instruct others according to his belief of the truth. This discrimination, which the men of that age were altogether unable to make we must endeavour to do. Had the government been guilty of no previous attempt to coerce the judgments and the consciences of men, and had the authorities of the university gone no further than to deprive Mr. Cartwright of his professorship, as one who differed on some important points from the opinions maintained by the church, no reasonable censure could have been applied to them. It is the enforced suppression of all free expression of opinion which the government and the dominant party in the church practised, and the

grievous persecution for conscience' sake, which Mr. Cartwright endured, that renders his life so striking an exponent of the abuses of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and of the constraint by which so many of the evils inherited from the corrupt and unreformed church which Henry VIII. was the first to assail, have been perpetuated and defended to our own day. This is a point we think requiring to be cleared up and freed from misconception by the reader. "Mr. Cartwright," says his too partial biographer, "possessed a noble and generous spirit, disclaimed all solicitude for human applause and worldly promotion, and showed the liberality and benevolence of his principles by an unreserved diffusion of the truth of God. With painful sensations he beheld the numerous Romish relics and degrading superstitions retained in the Established Church, and, in accordance with the spirit and principles of the best reformers, he sought the purification of the church and the advancement of the kingdom of Christ. Unbiassed by party prejudice and worldly interest, his untiring love to God and unfailing concern for the welfare of souls stimulated him to make known to others whatsoever appeared to be agreeable to the word of God."*

That Mr. Cartwright should have been denied the liberty as a minister of the gospel, of freely declaring to others "whatsoever appeared *to him* to be agreeable to the word of God," was a manifest infringement of liberty, stamping the government of Elizabeth as intolerant, and freedom of conscience as a thing unrecognised by the rulers of that age, who could conceive of no toleration

* Brook's Life of Cartwright, p. 51.

justifiable for any faith but their own. But surely no true Protestant can advocate such unbounded liberty as that a professor of divinity shall be left unrestrained, to inculcate whatsoever doctrines may appear to him agreeable to the word of God, acknowledging no standard but the conclusions of his own private judgment. "If," says Mr. Brook, "he carried his views of ecclesiastical reform further than did the heads of colleges, he was deserving only of greater commendation and encouragement, not of oppression and persecution"* Few we imagine will be prepared to concur in all that this proposition implies, however much all honest men must censure the silencing of a free expression of opinion by such abuse of power.

CHAPTER VI.

EXPULSION FROM CAMBRIDGE.

In the year 1571 the great opponent of Cartwright, Dr. Whitgift, was promoted to the vice-chancellorship of the University of Cambridge, and measures of extreme rigour were immediately enforced for silencing the opinions against which he had already appeared as a controversial antagonist. The testimony that was borne to his great virtues and learning, are equally honourable to him and to the circle of his friends at Cambridge, who came boldly forward to express their sympathy and high

* Brook's Life of Cartwright, p. 74.

admiration at this trying crisis. The following appeal on his behalf, was drawn up and signed by eighteen members of the University in high repute for learning, and some of whom afterwards held the office of bishops in the church, and was presented by them to Lord Burghley, the chancellor of the University:—

"MOST HONOURABLE SIR,—We have been very much concerned by the rumour which lately reached us of your displeasure against our Cartwright, and the alienation of your mind from him. We are all greatly obliged to you both as the patron of each individual, and as the common parent of the University. Though we particularly love Cartwright, that wonderful ornament of literature, nothing can be more unpleasant to us than that we should be the means of adding to your cares and anxieties, or that he should be brought into suspicion and disesteem among good men. As we owe great respect to you, we have thought it both our duty and his to mitigate the sorrow occasioned by misrepresentation, and if possible to reinstate Cartwright in your favour and in his former situation. Though we may seem to act rather inconsiderately, yet we must venture to intrude our letters upon you, notwithstanding you are so much occupied, and almost worn out with affairs of state. We cannot think it right that, while others have been so hasty to accuse, we should be slow to defend; and we assure ourselves that you will listen as freely to this defence as to a false accusation.

"It is not necessary for us to say much of Cartwright's general behaviour, as we are persuaded that no man can accuse him of any wickedness, or convict him of any scandal in his whole life. But that it may appear to your

honour what kind of a man they have maliciously summoned before them, we will with truth affirm that he is a pattern of piety and uprightness. What better model can we find than his example and instructions? May we love and practise them more and more!

"We know that his religion is sincere and free from blemish: for he has not only emerged from the vast ocean of papistical heresies, and cleansed himself with the purest waters of the Christian religion, but, as at a rock, he strikes at those futile and trifling opinions which are daily disseminated. He adheres to the Holy Scriptures, the most certain rule of faith and practice. We know that he has not passed these limits. He has not fallen into any error, nor been seduced by any novelty. In him, therefore, we have a bulwark, not only against the old fables of the Papists, from which we do not apprehend much danger, but also against the new opinions of crafty men, which threaten a more grievous plague. Of these particulars you may rest well assured.

"We admire and revere his learning. What is elsewhere said by the poet may be said of him: 'I admit he is skillful in all that becomes a free man to understand.' He is well skilled both in the Latin and Greek languages, an accomplishment which the poet highly applauds. To the knowledge of these he has also added that of the Hebrew tongue, which requires not a little labour; and though we may find his equals in each separately, he has certainly no superior in them all! How profitable these are in the study of theology may appear from this circumstance, that immense multitudes flock to hear him daily. They pay the greatest attention, and readily

adopt his opinions, and this not—as perhaps it has been insinuated to you—that he is always bringing forward some novelty to tickle the ears of his auditors with strange notions; but such is the accuracy of his interpretations, his felicity in teaching, and the gravity of his subjects, that the weight of his sentiments seems to surpass the fluency of his language.

"This is our opinion of him, which we are induced to send to you, not by any entreaties or private friendships, but because we wish well to the virtue and piety of the man. Now we most humbly beseech your honour that, if you have conceived any bad opinion of him, you would dismiss it from your mind, and give credit to us who are well acquainted with his character, religion, and learning, rather than to anonymous slanders destitute of truth and candour.

"Most excellent Chancellor, preserve to your University the man whom she always so anxiously desired, and whose voice she heard with the greatest delight while she possessed him. This most distinguished scholar of a celebrated university is a client worthy of so great a patron. In his whole life he has been the ornament and honour of this University, but of late much more so than formerly: for he is esteemed, not only by our domestics and families, but much more by foreigners, whose state of exile is rendered less painful by the sweetness of his disposition and learning, and who do not hesitate to compare him to those whose fame is so illustriously spread among foreign nations.

"Though we who beg this from you are but few, yet we ask it in the name of many: for there is scarcely any

man who does not admire and love him, and who does not think that he ought by all means to be defended. If, therefore, you wish well to the University, you cannot do anything more useful, gratifying, or acceptable, than to preserve Cartwright to her. May God long preserve you safe to us, and to the nation! Cambridge, June the third. Your honour's most obliged servants." *

This honourable testimony to his great learning and moderation procured from the Chancellor an order for rescinding the sentence that threatened to sever the connexion of Cartwright with the University. It did not, however, restore him to the free exercise of his office as a professor of divinity, and his opponents were too zealous to permit him the enjoyment even of this limited favour long. A new code of statutes was drawn up for the University, and these were confirmed by the Chancellor, and afterwards turned to uses he had never dreamt of, in persecuting Cartwright and other conscientious divines. Heretical sentiments were gleaned from his lectures and writings, and ex parte statements of his views and of their dangerous tendencies were forwarded by Dr. Whitgift and others, both to Archbishop Parker and to the Queen. The opinions maintained by Mr. Cartwright involved nearly all those which the Puritan party afterwards maintained in opposition to the tenets and the practice of the Church of England, including a protest against the validity of popish ordination,—objections to the ordination of any one for the ministry unless when setting him apart to a separate cure,—to any but one order and rank in the ministry,—to the use of the cross

* Strype, vol. ii. Appen. pp. 2, 3.

in baptism,—to standing at reading the gospel, and kneeling in receiving the sacrament,—to the observation of particular fasts and festivals, &c.

Dr. Whitgift proceeded against Cartwright with all the ungenerous zeal of a fiery partizan, and, taking advantage of the statute which required him as senior fellow of Trinity College to be in priest's orders, while he had never proceeded further than the order of deacon, he succeeded in depriving him of his fellowship, and banishing him from the University.

Cartwright, it may readily be believed, did not quietly submit to such a wrong, proceeding from one whom he had already foiled in argument, and who was therefore not unlikely to be biased by feelings altogether unfitting him to undertake the office of a judge. He replied with considerable pungency to Dr. Whitgift's violent treatises: "It pleaseth the Doctor," says he in one reply, "to compare those whom he put out of their livings without just cause to heretics and thieves; but all men understand how justly. Although it be unreasonable not to allow men to complain of their troubles, when he glories in troubling them; yet, which is the most intolerable, that besides the injury which he does them, he is angry that they will not lay hands on themselves by casting themselves out of their livings, or ever they be cast out by him. Tully makes mention of one Fimbria, who, when he had caused Scelova, a singular man, to be wounded, and saw that he died not of it, convened him before the judges; and, being asked what he had to accuse him of, answered, 'That he did not suffer the whole weapon with which he was struck to enter into his body.' Even so

the Doctor is not content to do injuries to men, but he accuses them that they will not do it to themselves, or that they are not willing to suffer his weapons to enter so far as he would have them. What conscience is there that binds a man to depart from his living, though he liketh not all the orders that are used? Is it not enough to abstain from them if there be any evil in them? or to declare the unlawfulness of them when the reformation of them is not in his power?

"You exhort us to submit ourselves to good order, which we always have done, and are still ready to do,—to give up being contentious, which we never yet begun,—to join with you in preaching the word of God, when you have stopped our mouths, and will not suffer us to preach. So we exhort you in the name of God, and as you will one day answer before a just Judge, that you will not wilfully shut your eyes against the truth, and despise it, when the Lord sets it before you. You may be well assured that your driving out will draw the truth, and your imprisonment will set the truth more at liberty, and thereby prove itself to be neither Papistry, Anabaptistry, Donatism, or any other heresy, which are by due correction repressed. As for the truth of God, the more it is laden, the more upright it standeth; and the more it is kept under, the more it forceth itself to rise; and it will undoubtedly get up, how large soever the stone which is laid upon it." *

In still more decided terms he wrote to the Chancellor, Lord Burghley, in October 1571, as quoted by Mr. Brook from the Lansdown MSS.: "When I was first expelled

* Cartwright's Replye.

from the college, I did not fly to you for protection, because I thought you were almost overwhelmed with the affairs of the state, to the number and weight of which I feared these disturbances would add a very grievous burden ; I was therefore afraid that I should seem too importunate if I interruped you while you were so incessantly engaged for the public welfare, and it might look like a partial statement if I compressed into a single letter what appears to me a most equitable ground of complaint. I am apprehensive there are some persons who have unjustly accused me, and filled your ears with the bitterest complaints against me. Had they refrained from false accusations, I would have forborne this my statement of the simple truth. As things are, what was before improper has now become necessary; and I trust you will grant me a candid hearing. Surely, while they are so eager to accuse me, I ought not to be very backward to defend myself; nor can I think your Lordship will refuse it from me. Indeed, a just defence ought to meet with a readier ear than a false accusation. I say I was unjustly expelled from the university. If you will investigate the matter, and inquire of those who are worthy of credit, you will very easily prove this, if it be not too troublesome and your numerous avocations will admit of it. A scholar of the university very humbly begs of the High Chancellor that the affair may be re-heard. I would write a full account of the matter, but I am afraid of perplexity; and therefore I will not put the whole in this letter, lest it should be unreasonably long. I would rather state the affair in your presence, which would enable me to be both more brief and distinct. Behold a new

and cruel device of the most unjust of men, who omit nothing to consummate my wretchedness, since both water and fire are forbidden me. They seem to want nothing but a sack, that they may destroy me like a matricide. I hear also that I am accused of seditious and schismatical practices. O baseness! He who is trying to ruin others —he who inflicts the most grievous wound on others, cries out immediately if he be touched." *

The controversy that followed was characterised on both sides by a degree of bitterness not easily avoidable when we consider the circumstances in which it originated, and the wrongs of which Cartwright had to complain, and against which he was entering his indignant protest. "The personal hostility of Whitgift," Dr. Price remarks, "is apparent throughout this affair; nor can it be denied that a similar feeling was generated in the nobler breast of Cartwright. The controversy in which they subsequently engaged afforded ample opportunities for its display. The bitterness which oppression engenders is legible in the writings of the latter, while those of the former display the insolence and hard-heartedness of ecclesiastical power, and the affected contempt of wounded pride." †

Cartwright being deprived of all means of subsistence by the loss of his fellowship and chair of divinity, was left dependent for a time on the sympathy and generous hospitality of his friends, a state of things which his angry and unfeeling opponent had the meanness to taunt him with as a state of voluntary mendicity of which he had made choice. Cartwright however was not to be

* Lansdowne MSS. Brook's Life of Cartwright, p. 77.

† Price's Hist. of Nonconformity, vol. i. p. 220.

silenced by such unfeeling taunts, and replied to him with a degree of point and pungency that must have been peculiarly irritating to so keen a controversialist.

CHAPTER VII.

ROYAL MARRIAGE NEGOTIATIONS.

THE severe measures carried out by the heads of the University of Cambridge, under the guidance of Dr. Whitgift, had not only driven Mr. Cartwright from the university, but effectually excluded him from the exercise of any of the ministerial functions. Finding that by these means he was as effectually cut off from all hope of active usefulness or the exercise of liberty of conscience, as were the martyrs and exiles of the previous reign, he followed the example of the latter, and sought refuge and liberty in a foreign land. Retiring to the Continent, he visited several of the most important localities where the doctrines of the Reformation had already gained a footing, and became acquainted with the most celebrated divines in the several Protestant universities of Europe, with many of whom he established a correspondence. He appears to have been held in the highest esteem by the Continental divines and it is even stated that he was chosen professor of divinity in the University of Geneva. Of the opinions entertained of him the remark of the celebrated Beza, in a letter to one of his correspondents in England, affords evidence sufficiently clear and satis-

factory—"Here," says he, "is now with us your countryman, Thomas Cartwright, than whom, I think the sun doth not see a more learned man."

Very few authentic accounts have been preserved affording accurate information as to the proceedings of Cartwright while abroad, or the localities in which this period of exile was chiefly passed. While he was abroad, he appears to have availed himself of his opportunities of intercourse with foreign Protestants, to reconsider his views on church discipline and confirm himself in maintaining them by the countenance he received from the most eminent Continental divines. Meanwhile the Puritans in England were enduring an amount of persecution, which abundantly showed that whatever professions of liberality and scriptural Protestantism might be made by the government of England, it was still influenced, scarcely less by the intolerant spirit of Popery than that of the preceding reign. The history of the period affords no less ample testimony to the justness of the terms with which a modern writer has characterised Elizabeth, as "the most despotic monarch, save and except her father, that ever swayed the sceptre of this realm." *

A recent historian of the period remarks, "The Puritan ministers were hunted out of their churches; their books were suppressed by the arbitrary will of the Queen; they were treated harshly in all civil matters; they were constantly called before the detestable Star Chamber; they were treated with contumely and ridicule; the members of their congregations were dragged before the High Commission for listening to their prayers and sermons; and

* Strickland's Lives of the Queens of England, vol. vi. p. 284.

whenever any one refused to conform to the doctrines of the establishment, he was committed to prison. There were not wanting instances of persons being condemned to imprisonment for life, and numerous were the cases in which whole families of the industrious classes were reduced to beggary by these persecutions." *

It was from such attempts to force men's consciences that nearly all the evils of Queen Elizabeth's reign originated, and most plentifully did she by that means sow the dragon's teeth from whence sprung to her successors such bitter strife and civil contention. Yet, after all, it is not the persecuted but the persecutors who have reaped the bitterest fruits thus perversely sown in the first years of the English Reformation. The Puritan pilgrims of new England, and the Puritan confessors who remained behind, established liberty for themselves at last, and other ages enjoy the freedom for which they struggled; but the church thus fostered by the strong hand of power has been enfeebled and shackled by its unwise nurses, and the honest and conscientious adherents of an Episcopal church look more in sorrow than in admiration on its ecclesiastical peerage, separated by baronial rank and dignities from the clergy over whom they should preside, and yet almost powerless for the exercise of that discipline within their own dioceses which the voluntarily appointed presbytery, and the solitary independent pastor, each exercises over their several spheres.

In considering the system of absolute government that yielded such fruits, we must not overlook the fact, that it was fostered as much by the ignorance of the people as

* Pictorial Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 636.

by the false ideas of the Queen. The despotism of Queen Elizabeth was not, like that of Charles I. or James II., an encroachment on the acknowledged rights of the people; on the contrary, England, even under her stubborn sway, was slowly acquiring those rights, and still more those ideas of liberty, which have so effectually established her in her proud pre-eminence among the nations. Both ruler and subjects were being tardily schooled by experience into a just estimate of their relative rights and obligations; nor has experience ceased to teach. It is characteristic of the Saxon race that they are little prone to change. They are slow in attaining every important improvement, but when attained it finds them ripe to appreciate it, and no less unwilling to part with that which they have won.

At the period of which we treat, in the year 1571, the nation was filled with the utmost alarm by negotiations entered into by Catherine de Medici, for the purpose of bringing about a marriage between the Queen of England and the Duke of Anjou, her son, a man of dissolute habits, and a bigoted Roman Catholic. To all who regarded the Protestant faith and the fruits of the Reformation as matters well worthy of being preserved at every cost, the complacency with which the court appeared inclined to receive these proposals excited the keenest anxiety and apprehensions.

It was difficult indeed at that period for a Protestant Queen of England to find a suitable match, unless she condescended to wed one of the nobles of her own court. No sooner were the negotiations with Catherine de Medici and the Duke of Anjou broken off than others were

begun with a view to a union with the Duke D'Alençon, another Roman Catholic, and all England was moved with alternate hopes and fears as the varied reports of these matrimonial treaties transpired. To this period Shakspeare is believed especially to refer in the well known beautiful passage in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*:—

"My gentle Puck, come hither; Thou remember'st
Since once I sat upon a promontory,
And heard a mermaid, on a dolphin's back,
Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath,
That the rude sea grew civil at her song;
And certain stars shot madly from their spheres,
To hear the sea-maid's musick.
Puck. I remember.
Obe. That very time I saw, (but thou could'st not,)
Flying between the cold moon and the earth,
Cupid all arm'd: a certain aim he took
At a fair vestal, throned by the west;
And loos'd his love-shaft smartly from his bow,
As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts
But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
Quench'd in the chaste beams of the wat'ry moon;
And the imperial votaress passed on,
In maiden meditation, fancy-free.
Yet mark'd I where the bolt of Cupid fell:
It fell upon a little western flower,—
Before. milk-white: now purple with love's wound,
And maidens call it love-in-idleness."

Far different writers however than the courtly poet employed their pens on these matrimonial negotiations, and in a much less acceptable style. The Lord Treasurer Burghley, with his wonted caution, sought the advice of many of the most eminent divines, ere he committed himself by giving expression to his own opinions, while others with less cautious zeal availed themselves of access to her Majesty, or influence with the court, to dissuade her against

an alliance with any member of the Church of Rome. While these matters were exciting such deep interest in England Cartwright was informed of them by successive letters from his friends at home, many of whom urged him to return home and aid them in averting so imminent a danger. Cartwright obeyéd the summons; and, soon after his return to England, was applied to by the Lord Treasurer to give his opinion as to whether the Queen could be morally justified in contracting an alliance with a member of the Romish church; or whether, indeed, as the more rigid controversialists were prepared to deny, any matrimonial contract could exist between such parties. The question, as stated by the Lord Treasurer, "was whether it was lawful for one professing the gospel to marry a a Papist?" or as others more strongly expressed it, "Whether a child of God could marry a son of the devil!" To this proposition Mr Cartwright, as may readily be believed, gave a decided negative. "For my part," said he, "I am fully persuaded that it is directly forbidden in Scripture that any who profess religion according to the word of God should marry with those who profess religion after the manner of the Church of Rome."

Whatever were the motives which influenced the "Virgin Queen" in breaking off these matrimonial negotiations, she manifested her wonted haughty intolerance of all advice or interference with her will. Archbishop Grindal was commanded to call the clergy together and to warn them against meddling with secular matters, and questions of state, which did not belong to their vocation to discuss.* But the most noted proof of this was shown in the publication of the celebrated work, entitled

"The Discovery of the Gasping Gulf, whereunto England is like to be swallowed by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the Bannes." The author of this obnoxious work was Mr. John Stubbs, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn. As soon as the nature of its contents became known at court the Queen expressed the most violent indignation. The author was apprehended, along with Page the publisher, and after being tried as the authors and publishers of seditious writings, were condemned under an oppressive act of the previous reign, to have their right hands cut off. This barbarous sentence was carried into execution with the utmost rigour. The right hand of each was smitten off, on the public scaffold, with a butcher's knife and mallet, and both of them were committed to the Tower, where they suffered a long and tedious imprisonment, notwithstanding the most earnest expressions of loyalty and submission repeatedly urged on the Queen and on the Lord Treasurer, in the petitions of Stubbs and Page, and those of their friends. Dalton, another lawyer who had ventured to question the legality of the barbarous sentence, was cast into prison, and Monson, a judge of the common pleas, who expressed a similar opinion was deprived of his office. Yet the book which excited such furious indignation is characterised by the most respectful and affectionate loyalty; its author was afterwards employed in various public services in which he gave good proof of his fidelity, and his pen was employed by the Lord Treasurer some years after to answer the writings of an eminent Romanist opponent. His case is the more interesting to us at present, as he afterwards became allied to the subject of this memoir through the marriage of Cartwright with his sister.

While such were the terrible means adopted by the Protestant rulers of England to deter the people from all free expression of opinion, there were not wanting those who dared the terrors of the law in their zeal to promote the adoption of a system more in accordance with their interpretation of scriptural authority.

In 1572, the noted publication, entitled, "An Admonition to Parliament for the Reformation of Church Discipline," erroneously ascribed to Cartwright, was set forth, embodying the Puritan views of the discipline of the Christian Church; of its character; of the election, duties, and parity of ministers; exposing the corruptions of the Anglican hierarchy and the arbitrary proceedings of bishops; and praying the parliament to establish by law a church-discipline more agreeable to the word of God. Letters of Beza to the Earl of Leicester, and Gaulter to Bishop Parkhurst, were appended to the volume. This famous book, which many writers at different periods have sought to father on Cartwright, was written by Mr. John Field, and Mr. Thomas Wilcox, the intimate friend of Mr. Wentworth, the great champion of civil and religious liberty in this reign. For presenting this book to the parliament, the authors were sent to prison, and Bishop Aylmer even committed a man to prison for selling it. Strype says the book was in such request that it had been printed and reprinted privately no less than four times, notwithstanding all the diligence of the bishops to suppress it.

This Admonition, Mr. Brook remarks, "Exposes the corruptions of the hierarchy, and the arbitrary proceedings of the bishops, and concludes with a petition to both

houses of parliament that discipline more consonant to to the word of God might be established by law.

"The attempt," he adds, "to procure an establishment according to the opinions of the Puritans was indefensible. With unanswerable evidence they exposed the gross ecclesiastical abuses, especially the tyranny and persecution by which they were upheld. There is reason to fear, however, if the desired object had been obtained from the parliament, the scheme would have been established by compulsory and persecuting enactments, in opposition to the authority and instructions of Jesus Christ. As already stated, the coercion of religion by temporal penalties is at open variance with the principles and intentions of Christianity, and is the worst and most dangerous feature of Antichrist." *

It was not, however, till nearly a century later that the true principles of toleration and liberty of conscience were understood and practised in England, and then only by a very small section of those who honestly professed to make the Bible the rule of their life. Cromwell was the first English ruler who deliberately and systematically laboured to extend liberty of conscience and the free expression of public opinion to all who were not prepared to abuse such liberty to promote the ends of sedition and anarchy. When he was laid in his grave toleration perished with him, and it has been reserved for the present generation to witness its complete resurrection.

* Brook's Life of Cartwright, p. 96.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SECOND CONTROVERSY.

THE excitement that prevailed among the leaders of the church on the publication of the "Admonition," and the anxiety and alarm which its appearance gave rise to, would appear altogether inadequate to so slight a cause as the issue of a polemical pamphlet. But it is difficult for the modern reader to form a just estimate of the amount of courage involved in the issue of such a publication in the sixteenth century. The sufferings of Stubbs and Page, for writing and printing a pamphlet on the proposed marriage of the Queen to a popish prince, may suffice to show how little liberty was enjoyed in the expression of opinion; and the treatment of the authors of the Admonition was scarcely less cruel. Their imprisonment was accompanied with the most rigorous severity, and they were examined with all the scrupulous nicety of a criminal precognition.

While Field and Wilcox were enduring an imprisonment characterised by extreme privations, Dr. Whitgift, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, was set to work by Archbishop Parker to answer "The Admonition." In his reply he charged the authors as disturbers of good order, enemies to the state, and the maintainers of many dangerous heresies. To refute these charges, the prisoners in Newgate published, "A Brief Confession of Faith, written by the Authors of the first Admonition to Parliament;

to testify their persuasion in the Faith; against the uncharitable surmises and suspicions of Dr. Whitgift, uttered in his *Answer to the Admonition:* in defence both of themselves and their brethren." Nearly at the same time that this Confession was published, Bishop Parker sent one of his chaplains, named Pearson, to hold a conference with the writers in the presence of their keeper, and to ascertain the nature and extent of those dangerous and heretical opinions they were supposed to maintain. Such examinations, accompanied by charges of so heinous a nature, were little calculated to lead to any relaxation of the severity to which these sufferers in the cause of liberty were exposed. They were placed under greater restraints, in a place of confinement which greatly added to their sufferings by its straitened and gloomy wretchedness.

Having suffered in their health from long confinement in this loathsome prison, the captives petitioned the Earl of Leicester to obtain for them a less miserable jail; while their wives and children, eloquently urging their cruel sufferings and poverty, prayed the same nobleman to use his influence with the Queen for their discharge. These petitions, however, were totally disregarded, and their confinement still continuing after the time for which they were sentenced had expired, they addressed a humble petition to the Lords of the Council, as well as one not less humble and earnest to the Earl of Leicester, begging him to present it to the council.

Among those who visited and consoled the prisoners in their dreary captivity, and sought to assuage their sufferings by acts of friendship, none took a more promi-

nent part than Cartwright, nor did he confine the display of his sympathy to such acts of private friendship and charity. Undeterred by the severity of their imprisonment he boldly stood forth to vindicate their principles, and to bear the brunt of their opponents' merciless antagonism, by publishing a "Second Admonition to the Parliament."

In the address to the reader with which Cartwright introduces his "Second Admonition," he exclaims, "What is there in our books that should offend any who seem to be godly? Some may say, either there is much amiss in our books, or we have a great deal of wrong offered us by such men as would seem to be the fathers of all true godliness. The authors of the former have been, and still are, hardly handled, being sent close prisoners to Newgate, next door to hanging; and by some of no mean estimation it hath been reported that it had been well for them if they had been sent to Bedlam to save their lives, as if they had been in peril of being hanged: and another prelate said, if they had been of his ordering, Newgate should have been their surety, and fetters their bonds. Now that they have had the law and are close prisoners, they are found neither to have been traitors nor rebels; and if it had been tried by God's law, they would not have been found to have offended against that law at all, but to have deserved praise of that law and the church of God. What, I pray, have they done amiss? They have published that the ministry of England are out of square. I need not ask what they have answered to that book; for they have answered only that it is a foolish book: but

with godly, wise men, I trust that will not be taken for sufficient answer.

"If they will still answer us with cruelty and persecution, we will keep ourselves out of their hands as long as God shall give us leave, and content ourselves with patience, if God suffer us to fall into their hands. We humbly beseech her Majesty not to be stirred against us by such men as will endeavour to bring us more into hatred, who will not care what to lay to our charge, so they oppress us and suppress the truth. They will say we despise authority, and speak against sovereignty; but what will not envy say against the truth? Her Majesty shall not find better subjects in her land than those who desire a right reformation, whose goods, bodies, and lives, are most assured to her Majesty and to their country."

We have felt little hesitation while thus reviewing the incidents of Cartwright's life, and the events of Queen Elizabeth's reign, in which he bore so important a part, to challenge his right to occupy the chair of divinity at Cambridge in order to promulgate his own private and peculiar opinions, however conscientiously held. Very different, however, is the position in which he appears, as the author of this "Admonition;" he stands forward as the undaunted champion of liberty of conscience and of that right of private judgment on which the true principles of the Reformation are based, however imperfectly understood in that age by those who claimed to be its promoters. He set forth, in the course of his address to the parliament, the constraint under which Englishmen then lay, so that every preacher was exposed to danger who attempted to declare the whole truth contained in

the word of God. He then proceeded to show that not only was this the case, but that even the imperfect and hasty devices suggested by the statesmen and theologians of the day, were held more sacred and precious in the eyes of the law than the Bible itself. "The laws of the land," he remarks, "the Book of Common Prayer, the Queen's injunctions, the commissioners' advertisements, the bishops' late canons, Linwood's provincials, every bishop's articles in his diocese, my Lord of Canterbury's sober caveats in his licenses to preachers, his high court prerogative, or grave fatherly faculties,—these together, or the worst of them, as some of them are too bad! may not be broken or offended against but with more danger than to offend against the Bible! To these subscribing, and subscribing again, and the third subscribing, are required: for these, preachers and others are indicted, fined, imprisoned, excommunicated, banished, and have worse things threatened them: and the Bible must have no further scope than by these it is assigned! Is this to profess God's word? Is this a reformation? We say the word of God is above the church; then surely it is above the English Church, and above all the books now rehearsed. If it be so, why are they not overruled by it, and not it by them?"

Whitgift's answer to the first Admonition is characterised by great learning and ingenuity, and what is more surprising under the circumstances, by considerable fairness in his method of conducting the argument. Strype affirms that he was assisted in it by Archbishop Parker and other learned divines, and no doubt the occasion appeared one of such importance as to demand all the

skill and ability of the champions of the church. Nevertheless it displays a singular ignorance of the whole argument by which the modern adherents of Episcopacy are wont to defend their system of ecclesiastical polity. So far is the defender of high church supremacy from claiming a *right divine* derived by apostolic succession, or the example of Christ in the appointment of the different orders of apostles, presbyters, and deacons, or indeed from any of the arguments now universally maintained among Episcopalians, based on the practice of Paul and his admonitions to Timothy and Titus, that the whole argument becomes one of expediency. No form of church order, he affirms, is laid down in Scripture; and he further proceeds to argue that the government of apostolic times cannot now be exercised, and that the practice of the apostles has of necessity been altered. We wonder that the modern successors of Dr. Whitgift have not been more frequently reminded of these views of their predecessors than they have been, when assuming such very different ground, in maintaining the authority of the same system.

Mr Cartwright, the old opponent of Dr. Whitgift, and the author of the Second Admonition, was chosen by his Puritan brethren as the fittest to reply to his defence of the existing order of things, or as it was styled by its author, "An Answere to a certen Libel, intituled A Admonition to the Parliament." Cartwright, accordingly, undertook the dangerous enterprise, and the year after the publication of the Doctor's answer, published a 'Replye to an Answere made by M. Doctor Whitgift againste the Admonition to the Parliament." It discusses the standard of judgment in this question; the election

of ministers; the officers of churches; clerical habits; bishops and archbishops; authority of princes in ecclesiastical matters; and confirmation by a bishop. The impression produced by this Reply can scarcely be conceived by those who have not studied the history of those times. The bishops were alarmed. The Queen was indignant. A proclamation was issued denouncing both the "Admonition" and the "Reply," charging her Majesty's subjects to keep, and to cause others to keep, the order of divine service set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, and none other contrary or repugnant thereto upon pain of her Majesty's highest indignation, and of other pains and penalties in the act comprised; commanding every printer, stationer, bookbinder, merchant, and all other men who may have the custody of the said books, to bring the same *to the bishop of the diocese*, or to one of her Highness' Privy Council, within twenty days after he shall have notice of this proclamation, on pain of imprisonment and her Highness's further displeasure.

Dr. Whitgift concludes his argument against the *Admonitionists* by affirming that the position which the Puritans desired to assume is "contrary to the Scriptures, the opinions of learned men, and the lawful and just authority of Christian princes." The last argument was peculiarly obnoxious to the Puritans because it associated them with the wild fanatics of Germany, whose excesses had done so much to thwart the labours and discredit the doctrines of the Continental reformers. On this the historian of Protestant Nonconformity has remarked with no less justice than severity; "Whitgift's reply is addressed to his loving nurse, the Christian Church of England; and is intro-

duced by an exhortation to such as were in authority, which betrays the bad spirit of the controversialist, and the little confidence which Whitgift placed in the integrity and strength of his cause. The atrocities of Munster had invested the name of Anabaptist with indescribable horror. Of this the polemic meanly takes advantage to prejudice his opponents in the estimation of the Queen's government. 'Considering,' he says, 'the strangeness of the time, the variety of men's minds, and the marvellous inclinations in the common sort of persons (especially where the gospel is most preached) to embrace new-invented doctrines and opinions, though they tend to the disturbing of the quiet state of the church, the discrediting and defacing of such as be in authority, and the maintaining of licentiousness and lewd liberty; I thought it good to set before your eyes the practices of the Anabaptists, their conditions and qualities, the kind and manner of their beginnings and proceedings, before the broaching of their manifold and horrible heresies, to the intent that you, understanding the same, may the rather in time take heed to such as proceed in like manner; lest they, being suffered too long, burst out to work the same effect. I accuse none, only I suspect the authors of this Admonition and their fautours. What cause I have to do so, I refer to yourselves to judge, after that I have set forth unto you the anabaptistical practices, even as I have learned in the writings of such famous and learned men as had themselves experience of them, when they first began in Germany.' There was a meanness in this attempt to draw down the suspicion of a jealous government on his opponents, from which an honourable mind

would have shrunk. Field and Wilcox, the avowed authors of the *Admonition*, were now in prison. But Whitgift could laugh at their sufferings, and coolly express his regret at their not being more severe. 'Touching the cruelty and rigour these men complain of,' he says, 'I shall need to speak little, being manifest to all that be not with sinister affections blinded, that lack of severity is the principal cause of their licentious liberty. But who seeth not their hypocrisy, which would make the world believe that they are persecuted, when they be with too much lenity punished for their intolerable contempt of good laws and other disordered dealings? Nay, such is their perverseness, or rather arrogancy, that if they be debarred but of the least part of their will and desire, by and by they cry out of cruelty and persecution. It is to be doubted what these men will do when persecution cometh indeed, which now make so much of a little, or rather of nothing.' The man who thus wrote at the commencement of his career, could not fail to become an active and cruel persecutor by the time that he had attained the primacy of his church. Such was the case with Whitgift, and his name must, in consequence, go down to posterity dishonoured." *

To these most unjust and ill-merited slanders, Mr Cartwright specially directs his attention, and replies:—"Your first object is to place us, whether we will or will not, in the camp of the Anabaptists, to the end you may draw all godly persons from aiding us, and have the sword to supply the insufficiency of your pen. If we be found in their camp,—if we be such disturbers of the quiet estate

* Price's Hist. of Nonconformity, vol. i. p. 234.

of the church, defacers of such as be in authority, maintainers of licentiousness and lewd liberty, as you charge us, we refuse not those punishments which our crimes deserve. All that you allege of the Anabaptists is true: God be praised, no part of it is true in us! If the church be disquieted by the agitation of these questions, that disquietude ariseth from the rejection of the truth. We seek to promote our own views, not in a tumultuous manner, but by humble suit to those to whom the redress of grievances appertains, and by teaching as our callings will suffer. As to magistrates and those in authority, we acknowledge the lawfulness, necessity, and singular commodity of them: we commend them in our sermons, and we pray for them as for those on whose good estate depends the flourishing condition of the commonwealth and the church. We love them as our fathers; we fear them as our lords and masters; and we obey them in the Lord, and for the Lord. If in any thing we do not according to that which is commanded, it is because we cannot be persuaded in our consciences that we may do it: for which we are ready to render our reasons out of God's word; and, if that will not serve, we are willing to submit ourselves to that punishment which shall be awarded against us. Herein we first call the Lord God to witness our meaning; and then we refer ourselves to the consciences of all men in the sight of God."

It is unnecessary to follow the author through his learned discussion of questions of popular election, the duties and rights of bishops and pastors, the authority of Christian princes and the duties of the civil magistrate in maintaining the authority and discipline of the church.

The proclamation for the suppression of the work served only to create a wider and more lively interest in its contents. Archbishop Parker is said to have been the chief promoter of this expurgatory bull of suppression, but whoever was its author it altogether failed of producing the desired effect. At the expiry of twenty days not one copy was brought to the Bishop of London, though, as Strype remarks, it cannot be doubted that several thousand copies were dispersed through the city and other parts of the diocese.

In commenting on these intolerant proceedings the recent biographer of Cartwright remarks: "Queen Elizabeth," according to Bishop Aylmer, "came to the crown 'like a lamb,' and 'like a mother,' to nurse her subjects; and she 'spoiled none!' If this was her original character, it was presently changed and injured by exaltation. The royal assumption had no bounds. Without directing the reader to the insulting contempt with which she treated the two houses of parliament, of which there is ample proof on record, her Majesty, conducting the affairs of the church, was governed by mere sovereignty, which her servants, the bishops, highly applauded, except when directed against themselves. Elizabeth browbeat and suspended bishops, and silenced and deposed clergymen at pleasure. She upbraided Bishop Cox, and stigmatized him 'proud prelate,' assuring him that she who had made him bishop could unmake him,' and that unless he obeyed her instructions she would 'unfrock him!' She suspended Bishop Fletcher and Archbishop Grindal from their high functions; the former for marrying in advanced age, which, forsooth, her Majesty disapproved! the latter for

refusing, contrary to his judgment and conscience, to abridge the number of preachers and put down the religious exercises,' which this sovereign lady imperiously demanded. Her Majesty had threatened Bishop Sandys with the deprivation of his bishopric, who, to escape this direful calamity, not only renounced his reforming principles, but likewise found it convenient to panegyrize her Majesty. This prelate, who prompted the Queen to adopt the foregoing rash proceedings, openly declared that her Majesty was 'the patroness of true religion, rightly termed The Defender of the Faith, and sought above all things the kingdom of God.' He added, 'that her religious heart was accepted of the Lord, and glorious in the eyes of the world;' and that she was 'so zealous for God's house, and so firmly settled in the truth, that she had constantly determined and often times vowed to suffer all torments rather than relent one jot in matters of religion!' This time-serving prelate must have been extremely mortified at the failure of the late proclamation; and, in one of his letters to Burghley, he said 'he had been desired to look into Mr. Cartwright's book, and see what good stuff was to be found there; but the truth was he could never obtain it, although it was current among many.'" To which Mr. Brook very justly appends the query: "Why then did he condemn the book which he had never seen?"

The "motherly" care of Queen Elizabeth, and the zeal of these nursing fathers of the church, were productive of very different fruits from what they either intended or desired. Cartwright's book was everywhere eagerly sought after and secretly perused, by many who previously entertained no scruples against the newly estab-

lished polity. Its influence was immense, while the reply of Whitgift found as little favour in the universities as in the metropolis. The seeds of discord were sowing in the minds of the most thoughtful men, at the very time when a wiser and more tolerant policy might have united all in forwarding the work of the Reformation in England. The nation was then separating into the two great parties that finally came into collision in the following century, with Charles I. and Archbishop Laud to marshal the one, and Cromwell and English Puritanism to guide the other. Under all our minor distinctions of sects and creeds, it is the grand division of parties in this nation still, the popish and the protesting parties that unite to form the so-called Protestantism of England.

Cartwright's "Replye" now became a sort of handbook of heresy in the hands of the dominant hierarchy; fellows were deprived at the universities, and preachers degraded and imprisoned, frequently under a system of inquisition whose interrogatories were constructed to search out and erase all sympathy with the opinions of the Puritan controversialists. Among the most eminent of these was Mr. Edward Deering, B.D., chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, and lecturer at St. Paul's, London. Of the inquisitorial character of the persecution he endured, the following narrative affords sufficient illustration:—

The charge brought against him before the Lords of the Council, in the Star Chamber, in addition to that of speaking against godfathers, was for prophesying that "Matthew Parker is the last Archbishop that ever shall sit in that seat." This offence was reported to have been

committed at a public dinner, where he had read a chapter in the presence of Dr. Chudderton and others. His letter to the Lords of the Star Chamber is preserved among the Burghley Papers, and affords sufficient evidence of the spirit of his accusers, as well as how very slight occasion was needed to furnish evidence against one suspected of any leanings towards the uncourtly opinions of the Puritan divine.

"It grieveth me," he says, "to see one pretend the person of Christ, and to speak words of so great gravity. And yet this is but one man among many whom, if it pleased God, I would your honours did hear. But because I am not to accuse others, but to purge myself, I leave this, and will answer to one accusation, which is yet against me, touching my Lord of Canterbury.

"I am charged that I put off my cap, bad them hearken, and said—Now will I prophesy, '*Matthew Parker is the last Archbishop that ever shall sit in that seat.*' Mr. Cartwright should say, *Occipio omen.* To this I answer that I have confessed what I said; and here I send it, witnessed by these hands that heard it. I put off no cap, nor spake of any prophecy. But Mr. Blage, commending much a book which he was about, of the Archbishop of Canterburys' lives, I said merrily, as before a sick man, in whose chamber we were, *that he should do well to be somewhat long in this Bishop's life; for peradventure he should be the last that should sit in that place.*

"I do not excuse these words; but leave to your honours to consider the weight of them; and I beseech God to give me that grace, that hereafter I may be careful that I may speak so as Paul saith, that in all my words

I may bring grace to the hearers. Only this I beseech your honours with fervour, to remember, that, seeing my private speeches so long time have been so narrowly watched, *if mine open preaching had been more faulty, it had been more easily known.* And thus I have further to trouble your honours; offering myself ready in what place soever I may be thought profitable to the Church of Christ. I beseech the living God long to keep you, to his honour and glory, and your endless comfort." *

There is something surely at once painful and humiliating in this glimpse of the Star-Chamber persecutions of Queen Elizabeth's reign, of the innocent pleasantry of the good man perverted as evidence of profane presumption and heresy. The solemn warning of Scripture tells the vain and thoughtless man that "for every idle word he must give an account," but here was such an account demanded by prejudiced and fallible judges, in a far different sense from that which the book of inspiration reveals as a warning to ungodly men. Insignificant as this accusation seems, and clear and simple as is the explanation afforded of the misreported *prophecy*, it led to the most rigorous inquiry into the opinions of Mr. Deering before he was restored to his lectureship; nor would his judges consent to restore him to his ministry until they had required him to acknowledge and subscribe the following propositions, which, however, he was not prepared to receive unreservedly or without challenge :—

I. That the Book of Articles agreed upon at the Synod, 1563, was sound, and according to the word of God.

II. That the Queen's Majesty was the chief governor,

* Strype's Annals, vol. ii. no. xxviii.

next under Christ, of this Church of England, as well in ecclesiastical as in civil causes.

III. That in the Book of Common Prayer was nothing evil, or repugnant to the word of God; but that it might be well used in this our Church of England.

IV. That the public preaching of the word of God in this church was sound and sincere; and the public order in the ministration of the sacraments was consonant to the word of God.

To the second of these articles, respecting the Queen's supremacy, he offered no objection. But to all the others he replied, assigning reasons for his differing in opinion from those who maintained such propositions as scriptural. He concluded his answer by saying: "See, I beseech you, what wrong I sustain, if I be urged to this subscription. While any law did bind me to wear cap and surplice, I wore both. When I was at liberty, surely I would not wear them for devotion. I never persuaded any to refuse them; nor am I charged with ever preaching against them. Thus, according to my promise, I have set down how far I would yield in these articles which your worship sent me. If I seem curious, or to stand upon little points, conscience, it should be remembered, is very tender, and will not yield contrary to its persuasion of the truth. I have sent you these articles, subscribed with mine own hand, and sealed with my heart, even in the presence of God, whom I humbly beseech, for Christ's sake, to give peace unto his church, that her ministers may rejoice, and her subjects be glad." *

* Strype's Annals, vol. ii. b. i. c. 28.

In addition to the articles to which Deering thus replied, there were twenty others, gathered from Cartwright's book. To these he answered with honest and straightforward consistency, rebutting many of the suspicions that had been unjustly cast on him, and repelling the charges of heresy. In his preface he remarks :—"I humbly beseech your honours to remember my former protestation, that I never spoke against the book of prayers; and in my book, in print, I have spoken openly for the allowance of it. I resort to common prayers: and sometimes being requested, I say the prayers as prescribed. If I be now urged to speak what I think, as before an inquisition—there being no law of God requiring me to accuse myself—I beseech your honours, let my answer witness my humble duty and obedience rather than be prejudicial and hurtful to me. This I most humbly waive, and, under the persuasion of your favour, I will answer boldly, as I am required."

Mr. Deering was restored to his lectureship, chiefly through the instrumentality of Dr. Sandys, Bishop of London, a piece of unwonted liberality for which he incurred the displeasure both of Lord Burghley and the Queen. The style in which this venerable prelate writes to the Lord Treasurer in defence of his leniency, is somewhat singular as a manifestation of the spirit that swayed the rulers of the church in the exercise of discipline. "I think," says he, writing to Lord Burghley, "that a soft plaster is better than a sharp corrosive to be applied to this sore. If this man be somewhat spared, and yet well scolded, others being manifest offenders may be dealt with according to their deserts." Such a system

of *soft plasters*, however, found no favour with the rulers of England in the sixteenth century. Dr. Sandys was himself *well scolded*, or, as Strype has it, "bitterly rebuked," by the Queen, and he soon learned the courtly lessons of such royal schooling so well, that his own influence was employed to procure a warrant from the Queen for finally silencing Deering. Thenceforth this good man was denied the liberty of proclaiming the truths of the gospel, or fulfilling the requirements of his commission as an ambassador of Christ. In Fuller's Abel Redivivus, a beautiful and touching record is preserved of "The Life and Death of Edward Deering, who died Anno Christi, 1576."

The dread with which the leaders of the dominant church party regarded Cartwright, and all whom his bold and manly declarations of his own opinions and convictions influenced, is sufficiently manifested in a letter addressed by Dr. Parker and Dr. Sandys to another of the Bishops who had been absent from the Star Chamber Commission during the proceedings against Deering. The following is a portion of this letter, which shows how ignorant were the men of that age of the spirit of freedom, and the right of private judgment, which they claimed for themselves. Every difference of opinion from that which they maintained seemed alike dangerous to civil and ecclesiastical systems, and the man who ventured to think for himself was at once judged a despiser of constituted authorities, ready to rebel whenever opportunity should be found. "Neither," say they, "do these false brethren only cut down the ecclesiastical state, but also gave a great push at the *civil* policy! Their colour is

sincerity, under the countenance of simplicity; but in very truth they are ambitious spirits, and can abide no superiority. Their fancies are favoured by some of great calling, who seek to gain by other men's losses. And most plausible are these new devices to a great number of the people, who labour to live in all liberty. But the one blinded with the desire of getting, see not their own fall, which no doubt will follow; the other, hunting for alteration, pull upon their necks intolerable servitude. For these fanatical spirits, which labour to reign in men's consciences, will, if they may bring their purposes to pass, lay a heavy yoke upon their necks.

"In the platform set down by these new builders, we evidently see the spoliation of the patrimony of Christ, and a popular state to be sought: the end will be ruin to religion and confusion to our country. And that you may the better perceive how these fancies are embraced, and likely to take effect, except in time they be met withal, here enclosed we have sent you certain articles taken out of Cartwright's book, by the council propounded to Mr. Deering, with his answers to the same; and also a copy of the council's letter writ to Mr. Deering to restore him to his former reading and preaching, his answer notwithstanding our advices never required thereunto!

"These proceedings puff them up with pride, make the people hate us, magnify them with great triumphing, that her Majesty and the privy council have good liking of this new building; which hitherto, as we think, in no Christian nation hath found any foundation upon the earth, but is now framed upon suppositions full of absurdities. We are persuaded that her Majesty hath no

liking thereof, howsoever the matter be favoured by others." *

The cry of "the church in danger," has ever been the reply of those who are bound by self-interest to the established order of polity, and such is the strange inconsistency of human nature, and the blindness of party prejudice, that there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of these men, who thus, in the very act of oppression, speak of their victims as bringing on themselves, "intolerable servitude," and as "fanatical spirits, labouring to reign in men's consciences," and to burden their necks with a heavy and galling yoke.

CHAPTER IX.

CONTEMPORARY INTOLERANCE.

While the progress of the reformed doctrines in England was leading to such consequences as we have described, and from the midst of the Protestant Church itself a protesting body was arising destined to stamp its characteristics with enduring influence on a succeeding age, the friends of liberty and truth were waging a still more hazardous and uncertain warfare on the Continent. It is desirable that we should glance at the progress of the Reformation both in Scotland and France at this period, in order the more fully to understand the state of parties and of public opinion in England.

* Strype's Parker, p. 433.

In one very important point the character of the Reformation both in France and Scotland differed very widely from that in England. In the latter it early received the countenance and fostering care of the ruling powers, and while it was restrained and shackled by the prejudices and self-interest of such rulers as Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, and checked for a time in its onward path, still it must be remembered that it was also defended from the extreme violence of its opponents, and many of those sufferings averted, which in Italy, Spain, and France, sufficed to quench the light of reformation in the blood of its abettors. The progress of truth in England was in conformity with the patient deliberative caution of the Anglo-Saxon character, and the checks it had to encounter affected it as its own winter storms its native oak, only making it strike its roots deeper and more tenaciously in the soil. Meanwhile in France also the believers in the simple faith of the Scriptures were acquiring a footing, and rapidly increasing in numbers and influence. Closely resembling in their tenets and habit of life the Puritan party of England, they were contemptuously styled Huguenots by their opponents, — a term of doubtful derivation, which is said to have implied among its bigoted originators that these Protestants were the offspring of the Demon Hugo. But whatever offensive implications were designed by its originators speedily vanished before the consistent piety of their despised opponents, who took the sting from the opprobrious epithet by their upright and blameless lives. The name became the badge of a party that thousands were proud to join, and noblemen of the highest politi-

cal rank, and even princes, united in the objects they had in view.

Abhorred and persecuted by the Catholic party, and denied all share in the rights and privileges of citizen, the Huguenots took up arms to defend themselves against the cruelties of their opponents, and bloody wars desolated the plains of France. Henry of Navarre, a prince of the blood royal and heir to the crown of France, was the leader of the Protestant party. The bigoted and infamous Charles IX. was the ruler of France, and his determined opponent; while, equally resolute in detestation of the Protestants, and far more skilled in the perfidious wiles of courts, Catherine de Medici, his mother, controlled the movements of the King, following out his schemes on behalf of the Romish party with a relentless perseverance probably unmatched in the history of woman. The terrible consequences are well known. The brave and pious Admiral Coligni was the first victim singled out for massacre, and the sympathy excited by his danger, in the minds of the whole Protestant party, was made use of by their heartless opponents to gather them together to the place appointed for their massacre.

On the evening of the 23rd of August, 1572, the Eve of St. Bartholomew,—the year, be it remarked, in which the controversies of Whitgift with Cartwright and others of the English Puritans, as related in the preceding chapter, took place,—a secret conference was held by the popish conspirators of the court of France, who had leagued together for the extirpation of their opponents. Their interview was brief, for unanimity prevailed in the councils of the wicked. From thence Catherine de

Medici, the Queen-mother, proceeded to the chamber of the King, followed by the chief leaders of the Catholic party. There, too, deliberation was of no long continuance. The King gave his concurrence to the murder of his innocent subjects, declaring his hope that not a single Huguenot would survive the following day to reproach him with the bloody deed.

Catherine de Medici, accompanied by the King, and one only of their secret councillors, repaired to a balcony at the Louvre, and watched in the stillness of the night for the appointed signal that was to be the knell of the Protestants of France. The coward King shook with terror, and drops of sweat stood upon his brow; but no repentance awoke in his guilty mind. The conscience-stricken craven stretched forth no hand to stay the murderous sword that hung over thousands of his innocent and unsuspecting subjects. The night passed on while the guilty perpetrators of the still unexecuted deed watched there in silence, peering into the gloom. At two o'clock in the morning—a Sabbath morning—the great bell of the palace tolled, the fatal signal for the massacre to begin.

The ringing of the bell was answered by a clang from all the bells of Paris, and by the discharge of fire-arms in different quarters. "Paris," in the vivid description of one historian, "resounded with cries and howlings, which brought the defenceless people out of their dwellings, not only unarmed, but half naked. Some tried to gain Coligny's house, in the hope to obtain protection, but the companies and guards quickly despached them. The Louvre seemed to hold out a refuge; but they were

driven away by men armed with spears and musketry. Escape was almost impossible; numerous lights placed in the windows deprived them of any shelter which the darkness might have afforded them; and patroles traversed the streets in all directions, killing every one they met. From the streets they proceeded to the houses; they broke open the doors, and spared neither age, sex, nor condition. A white cross had been put in their hats to distinguish the Catholics; and some priests, holding a crucifix in one hand and a sword in the other, preceded the murderers, and exhorted them, in God's name, to spare neither relatives nor friends. When the daylight appeared. Paris exhibited a most horrible spectacle of slaughter; headless bodies were falling from the windows; the gateways were blocked up with dead and dying; and the streets were filled with carcasses which were drawn on the pavement to the river." Most of the victims submitted passively to their fate, and fell without a single word; but others upbraided Charles with the violation of public faith, and the breach of his own promise. "Great God!" they exclaimed, "be the defence of the oppressed. Just Judge! avenge this perfidy." Guise, Tavannes, and others sped through the streets, stimulating the assailants. "Bleed, bleed!" Tavannes ferociously exclaimed, "the doctors tell that bleeding is as beneficial in August as May." His wish was gratified: the assailants vied with one another; a butcher boasted to the King that he had slaughtered 150 victims in one night, and another of them, a goldsmith, vaunted that he had slain 400 individuals with his own hands. The massacre continued more or less during the whole week; but had

considerably abated by the third day. On this day the King proceeded in state to the Cathedral of Notre Dame, and, after the celebration of high mass, returned thanks to God for the great victory he had given them over detestable heretics.

From the city of Paris the massacre spread throughout the kingdom. In the city of Meux 200 were thrown into prison, and there called out one by one, to be slaughtered like so many sheep. At Orleans, above 500 men, women, and children were slain. Similar cruelties were practised at various other places, and especially at Lyons, where about 800 Protestants were inhumanly destroyed; children hanging on their parent's necks; parents embracing their children. They put ropes about the necks of some, dragging them through the streets, and throwing them, mangled, torn, and half dead, into the river. According to Thuanus, above 30,000 Protestants were destroyed in this massacre.

The intelligence of the St. Bartholomew deed gave rise to the greatest rejoicings at Rome. When the letters of the papal legate were read in the assembly of cardinals, conveying the intimation that all this had been done by the French monarch's order and sanction, it was immediately resolved that the Pope and cardinals should walk in procession to the church of St. Mark, where a so lemn thanksgiving should be offered up for the blessing conferred on the see of Rome and the Christian world; that high mass should also be celebrated on the Monday following, and a jubilee published throughout the whole Christian world to commemorate the extirpation of the enemies of the truth in France. In the evening the can-

non of St. Angelo were fired to testify the public joy, the city was illuminated with bonfires, and a general carnival was held!

The court of Spain was filled with no less joy and exultation at the news of the St. Bartholomew massacre. King Philip celebrated it by a scenic representation, under the title of the "Triumph of the Church Militant." It was a season of joy to the enemies of truth. They believed that it was the death-blow to Protestantism in Europe; and in France it nearly was so. Centuries of misery and despotic violence awaited that unhappy country, and terrible has been the reaction when the people at length rose against their oppressors. During the first French Revolution, a board was affixed over a window of the Louvre, bearing the inscription: "From this window the tyrant Charles the Ninth, of bloody memory, fired upon his faithful subjects, the unfortunate Huguenots, during the massacre of St. Bartholomew." But the news of that horrible massacre reached other lands than those of Italy and Spain. Scotland learned the fearful tidings; and while her Protestant children awoke to a keener detestation of the errors and the intolerant spirit of Popery, good old John Knox lifted up his dying voice to God on behalf of the suffering church. England, too, heard the dread sound; the shrieks of the persecuted and murdered Huguenots reached to her also. The Queen of England, looked to by the Protestants of Europe as their leader and head, was at that very time lulled into fancied security by negotiations for a matrimonial alliance with the profligate and perfidious court of France. "Lulled," says one of her biographers, "by these flattering appearances

of tranquillity, her Majesty set out on her summer progress, and she was enjoying the festivities prepared by Leicester for her reception at his splendid castle of Kenilworth, when news arrived of the execrable massacre of Paris, an atrocity not to be paralleled in history. Troops of affrighted Huguenots, who had escaped through a thousand perils with life, and life alone, from the hands of their pitiless assassins, arrived on the English coast, imploring the commiseration of their brother Protestants, and relating in accents of despair their tale of horrors. After such a stroke, no one knew what to expect. The German Protestants flew to arms; and even the subjects of Elizabeth trembled for their countrymen travelling on the Continent, and for themselves in their island home. . . . For several days fears were entertained for the safety of Walsingham himself, who had not dared to transmit any account of the event, except one by a servant of his own, whose passage had been by some accident delayed. Even this minister, cautious and crafty and sagacious as he was, assisted by all the spies whom he constantly kept in pay, had been unable to penetrate any part of the bloody secret; he was completely taken by surprise. But of his personal safety the perfidious young king and his detestable mother were, for their own sakes, careful; and not only were himself and his servants protected from injury, but every Englishman who had the presence of mind to take shelter in his house, found it an inviolable sanctuary. Two persons only of this nation fell victims to the fury of that direful night, but the property of many was plundered. The afflicted remnant of the French Protestants prepared to stand upon their defence with all the intre-

pidity of despair. They closed the gates of Rochelle, their stronghold, against the King's troops, casting at the same time an imploring eye towards England, where thousands of brave and generous spirits were burning with impatience to hasten to their succour.

"No act would have been hailed with such loud and general applause of her people, as an instant renunciation by Elizabeth of all friendship and intercourse with the perjured and blood-stained Charles, the midnight assassin of his own subjects; and it is impossible to contemplate without disdain the coldness and littleness of a character which, in such a case, could consent to measure its demonstrations of indignation and abhorrence by the narrow rules of a self-interested caution. But that early experience of peril and adversity which had formed the mind of this princess to penetration, wariness, and passive courage; and given her a perfect command of the whole art of simulation and dissimulation, had at the same time robbed her of some of the noblest impulses of our nature, of generosity, of ardour, of enterprise, of magnanimity. Where more exalted spirits would only have felt, she calculated; where bolder ones would have flown to action, she contented herself with words.

"Charles and his mother, while still in uncertainty how far their master-stroke of policy—so they regarded it—would be successful in crushing entirely the Huguenots, prudently resolved to spare no efforts to preserve Elizabeth their friend, or to prevent her at least from becoming an open enemy. Instructions had therefore been, in the first instance, dispatched to La Mothe Fenelon, the French ambassador in England, to communicate such an account of

the massacre and its motives as suited these views; and to solicit a confirmation of the late treaty of amity. His reception at court on this occasion was extremely solemn: the courtiers and ladies who lined the rooms leading to the presence-chamber were all habited in deep mourning, and not one of them would vouchsafe a word or a smile to the ambassador, though himself a man of honour, and one whom they had formerly received on the footing of cordial intimacy. The Queen herself, in listening to his message, assumed an aspect more composed, but extremely cold and serious. She expressed her horror at the idea that a sovereign could imagine himself under a necessity of taking such vengeance on his own subjects; represented the practicability of proceeding with them according to law, and desired to be better informed of the reality of the treasonable designs imputed to the Huguenots. She also declared that it would be difficult for her to place reliance hereafter on the friendship of a prince who had shown himself so deadly a foe to those who professed her religion; but, at the suit of the ambassador, she consented to suspend in some degree her judgment of the deed till farther information.

"Even these feeble demonstrations of sensibility to crime so enormous, were speedily laid aside. In spite of Walsingham's declared opinion, that the demonstrations of the French court towards her were so evidently treacherous, that its open enmity was less to be dreaded than its feigned friendship, Elizabeth suffered her indignation to evaporate in a few severe speeches, restrained her subjects from carrying such aid to the defenders of Rochelle as could be made a ground of serious quarrel, and even

permitted a renewal of the shocking and monstrous overtures for her marriage with the youngest son of Catherine de Medici herself."*

It cannot be regarded as out of place in a record of private suffering and worth, thus to direct attention to this tremendous manifestation of bigoted cruelty, which stamped so indelible a character on the age. It was an act that could not fail to awaken apprehension and distrust in the mind of every Protestant. Thousands, like Cartwright, still cherished the vivid remembrance of the Marian persecutions, which they had witnessed or shared in ; and while their detestation of Popery was awakened to more lively intensity by so terrible a display of its spirit, it cannot be wondered at if they turned with increasing repugnance to everything in the reformed Church of England, that seemed a relic of the Church of Rome. This it is which gave such intensity to the opposition of Cartwright and his coadjutors, in their denunciations of the habits of the clergy, the pomp and lordly power of the bishops, and the formalities of liturgical services. Things indifferent, or altogether innocent in themselves, became real points of controversy and matters of high importance when they assumed the character of badges of that church which had kindled the fires of Smithfield, and had rejoiced in the success of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Both the domestic and the foreign policy of Queen Elizabeth was well calculated to increase their fears, and when we consider that in those very months during which the remnant of the persecuted Huguenots were fleeing for shelter to the shores of England, England's own Puritan con-

* Aikin's Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 22

fessors were enduring penalties and imprisonment for conscience' sake, we cannot wonder that fear and sad forebodings weighed down the hearts of many a faithful servant of Christ in Protestant England.

CHAPTER X.

THE ADMONITION CONTROVERSY.

THE lessons inculcated by the memorable events which we have glanced at in the preceding chapter, were well calculated to teach the Protestants of England the necessity of unanimity, and charitable forbearance in all the minor differences which spring up among every large body of thinking men. No lesson, however, seems to have been more difficult to acquire in that age than the needful one of toleration. Men who had themselves just cast off the spiritual yoke of Popery, and having found their earlier opinions wrong, might have been expected to bear with those who, in casting off such errors, were inclined to go further than themselves, were the first to deny the liberty of private judgment to all who differed from them. Scarcely any, even of the most liberal minded of that age, comprehended the principles we are now wont to practise in permitting the freest expression of every diversity of opinion. On this subject Dr. Price remarks with judicious candour, "Cartwright's defective acquaintance with the nature and grounds of religious liberty is apparent throughout his writings. He was the advocate of coercion

in some cases, though opposed to it in his own. The following passage amongst many others, is sufficiently explicit in the enunciation and approval of this unchristian practice. 'But now I hear you ask me,' he says, 'what then shall become of the Papists and Atheists, if you will not have them be of the church? I answer, that they may be of and in the commonwealth, which neither may nor can be of nor in the church. And therefore, the church having nothing to do with such, the magistrate ought to see that they join to hear the sermons in the place where they are made, whether it be in those parishes where there is a church, and so preaching, or where else he shall think best; and cause them to be examined how they profit; and if they profit not, to punish them; and as their contempt groweth, so to increase the punishment, until such times as they declare manifest tokens of unrepentantness; and then, as rotten members, that do not only no good nor service in the body, but also corrupt and infect others, cut them off. And if they do profit in hearing, then to be adjoined unto that church which is next the place of their dwelling.' Such were the sentiments which, by a strange perversion of intellect, Cartwright advocated. Had they been uttered in the high places of the land, by those who inherited the emoluments and wielded the power of the church, little surprise would have been excited. But that the victim of Protestant intolerance, while claiming liberty of worship for himself, should thus admit the very principle on which his own oppression might be justified, is a circumstance so abasing to the pride of our nature, as to awaken incredulity and regret. The evidence of the fact, however, is too conclusive to admit of doubt, and

the only extenuation which can be urged is, that Cartwright's early training in the school of intolerance had familiarised him with its principle, and rendered him insensible of its enormity. But the disciples of Parker and Whitgift are not entitled to glory over the Puritan advocate, since their masters added to his theoretical error the sternness and ferocity of practised inquisitors."*

Such facts, however, should teach us to judge charitably of the excesses of an age wherein the oppressor was carrying out to their full extent the measures that the oppressed were equally persuaded could justly be meted to their own opponents. Thus far, however, we think the Protestant is justified in deducing an argument in favour of his own cause. The mild and gentle Cranmer acknowledged the same principles of intolerance in dealing with what he regarded as heresy, and the haughty Elizabeth maintained, throughout her whole reign, a right to control the opinions, and to coerce the thoughts of men, not a whit less absolute than that maintained by her predecessor Mary, and enforced by Gardiner and Bonner with tortures and the stake. Nevertheless, how greatly superior in regard to every question of enforced conformity are the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth to those of Henry and Mary. The ignorance and the evil passions of men produced the evils of both, but the liberal spirit inherent in Protestantism tempered in the one case those evils, which were, in the other, fanned by the spirit of Popery into an era whose horrible annals are written in blood and fire. In illustration of this, how touching is the appeal of good old "Father Fox," as Queen Elizabeth

* Price's History of Nonconformity, vol. i. p. 253.

herself was wont to style him, when two unhappy Anabaptists were deemed so utterly beyond the pale of toleration or mercy, that the horrible penalty of fire was once more ordered to be revived in England. Archbishop Parker had never failed to watch with stern severity every dereliction from uniformity. "He was a *Parker* indeed," says Fuller, in his own quaint style, "careful to keep the fences, and shut the gates of *discipline* against all such *night-stealers* as would invade the same." Shortly before his death, his ire was excited by the zeal of some Dutch refugees, who had escaped from the persecutions of the Spanish general D'Alva, and believed themselves at liberty to worship in England according to the dictates of their conscience. The atrocities of the stake are rendered more horrible when thus revived against persecuted strangers, who had cast themselves on the hospitality of Protestant England. The early excesses of the Anabaptists of Munster had sufficed, however, to create so strong a prejudice against all who bore the name, that they seem to have been regarded as beyond the utmost verge of tolerance. All holding "such heretical opinions" were commanded to depart out of the realm within twenty days, and this having failed in its effect, sundry of them were subjected to various penalties, and two of the most resolute were condemned to be burned. From the form of recantation offered to them, they would appear to have denied the doctrine of Christ's incarnation, and to have maintained many of the peculiar views of Quakerism, in addition to their opinion on baptism. On learning of the condemnation of John Wielmacker and Hendrick Ter Woort, John Fox, the martyrologist, addressed a most

eloquent appeal to the Queen on their behalf, in which he exclaims: "To roast the living bodies of unhappy men, who err rather through blindness of judgment than perverseness of will, in fire and flames, raging with pitch and brimstone, is a hard-hearted thing, and more agreeable to the practice of the Romanists, than the custom of the gospellers. I do not speak these things because I am pleased with their wickedness, or favour thus the errors of any man; but seeing I myself am a man, I must favour the life of man; not that he should err, but that he might repent. Wherefore, if I may be so bold, I humbly beg of your royal highness, for the sake of Christ, who was consecrated to suffer for the lives of many, this favour at my request, which even the divine clemency would engage you to, that if it may be (and what cannot your authority do in such cases?) these unhappy men may be spared. There are excommunications and imprisonments; there are bonds; there is perpetual banishment; burning of the hand; whipping; or even slavery. This one thing I most earnestly beg; that the piles and flames of Smithfield, so long ago extinguished by your happy government, may not be revived. But, if I may not obtain this, I pray with the greatest earnestness, that out of your great pity, you would grant us a month or two, in which we may try whether the Lord will grant that they may turn from their dangerous errors, lest with the destruction of their bodies, their souls be in danger of eternal ruin."

Even Fox it will be seen, hardly indeed maintains free toleration; though this was probably a wise concession to the prejudices of his age, in order thereby to ameliorate what he could not hope altogether to prevent. The appeal

however, was vain; and the fires of Smithfield were once more kindled, to the indelible disgrace of the rulers, and still more of the leading churchmen of the age. The horrors of St. Bartholomew's day had failed to impress the proud Tudor with any question of her absolute right over the bodies and souls of Englishmen. Queen Elizabeth was recognised as an absolute sovereign, endued with a divine right to govern. She was approached by the most eminent men of that illustrious era of our national history, in language, and with forms of adulation, such as seem to us profane when applied to the most exalted human being.

At the very period when the Protestants of France had been hunted and massacred by their merciless persecutors, as beings unfit to live on the earth, and while the courts of Rome and Madrid were revelling in guilty joy at the prospect of the utter annihilation of the light of the reformation in Europe, the English hierarchy and civil rulers were diligently persecuting the conscientious adherents of Bible truth, under the name of schismatics, heretics, Puritans, and the like contemptuous or opprobrious epithets. They are stigmatised by their opponents as "contentious, vain-glorious, mischievous men, of ungovernable discord;" while it is laid to their charge as a crime, that they claimed to have nearly all the reformed churches on their side, and that the new order of things which they sought to establish was approved of, and favoured not only by the people, but by many of the nobility.

These fathers of English Puritanism were governed by no contentious spirit. Small indeed were the concessions

that they humbly, though earnestly, sought to be conceded to tender consciences. When forced to abandon their pulpits and churches, and denied the liberty of preaching the gospel under grievous penalties, they published their opinions by means of the press. But this step was deemed even more criminal and contumacious than the former. Imprisonment and pillory were the awards of this attempt to exercise the liberty of the press, and, as a last resource, they demanded a public conference with their adversaries. Very summary was the method adopted in reply to this last appeal. They were summoned before the Star Chamber Commission, and Mr. Cartwright's friends deeming it anything but advisable that he should appear to answer for such uncourtly misdemeanours, a warrant was issued "to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and head boroughs," requiring them, on their allegiance, to be aiding and abetting in the apprehension of one Thomas Cartwright, to bring him to trial "for his unlawful dealings and demeanours, in matters touching religion, and the state of this realm."

Mr. Cartwright's younger brother was seized and brought before Archbishop Parker charged with being *phrenzied* with the notions of his brother and "such like precisians." Mr. Cartwright, however, had raised up many friends by his firm stand in defence of religious liberty. Among the middle classes, and chiefly among the wealthy citizens of London, a lively sympathy was excited on his behalf. Strype tells us that "he was secretly harboured in the city," and such was his reputation there that many of the aldermen and the wealthiest of the citizens were the most forward in offering him protection and assistance.

The utmost zeal was displayed by those sent in search of Cartwright, and Grindal, Archbishop of York, wrote to Archbishop Parker that he was lodged in the house of Mr. Martin, a wealthy citizen and goldsmith in Cheapside. His host was a man of considerable note and influence in the city. He held an office in the mint and afterwards rose to the office of Lord Mayor. Mr. Cartwright, however, had no doubt availed himself of the kind hospitality of his friends only to wait a favourable opportunity for escaping beyond reach of his persecutors. To have done otherwise at that period would only have been to expose his friends to the penalties likely to be imposed on those who harboured and concealed the victims of government persecution, without in any degree promoting his own permanent safety. Before the emissaries of the High Commission Court could avail themselves of the information furnished by Archbishop Grindal, Cartwright had escaped the vigilance of his pursuers, and found refuge at Heidelberg.

The line of policy of Queen Elizabeth's court in dealing with those who displayed zeal and activity in the cause of religion is sufficiently manifest, whatever opinion we may be inclined to form of its justice or consistency with the principles by which the rulers of England then professed to be influenced. Cartwright, for his honest and disinterested exertions in the cause of liberty of conscience and scriptural truth, was degraded from his ministerial office, driven forth from the University, and at length compelled to escape for safety to a foreign land, at the very time when the Protestant exiles of France were flying before the sword of their Romish persecutors, and crowding

for safety to the English shores. Nearly at the same time Dr. Whitgift, the courtly champion of the polemics of royalty, and the controversial antagonist of Cartwright, was selected, as the man whom the Queen delighted to honour, and preferred to the envied dignity of Bishop of Worcester.

Dr. Whitgift did not flag in his zeal on the expulsion of his opponent from England. Other weapons than those of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court were now required, and he once more resumed the controversial pen. Nothing could so amply testify to the great learning and high abilities shown by Cartwright, as the anxiety which was displayed in the preparation of a reply to him. Whitgift corresponded on the subject with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and sundry of the bishops and ablest scholars of his time, to whom his arguments were submitted for revision, and their varied suggestions weighed and canvassed with a degree of care proportioned to the interests at stake. Whitgift's work at length appeared in 1574, entitled, "The Defence of the Answere to the Admonition, against the Replye of T. C." In his preface, the author exclaims, with a singular forgetfulness of the *novelties* which the Reformation in England had already introduced in defiance of the adherents of the old faith, the unity of which had been so zealously and fiercely maintained to the death, during the preceding reign: "If we suffer every heady and brainless fellow, so soon as he hath conceived any new thing in his mind, to publish it abroad, gather disciples, and make a new sect, in a short time we shall have so many sects and factions that Christ, which with great pain and labour is brought to unity in

every church, would be divided again into many parts."

Such then was the liberty of the press in England, degradation, penalties, imprisonment, and exile, waited on all who should venture to advocate any other novel opinions than those which "the imperial votress" of Protestant infallibility had chosen to sanction. Happily, however, for truth and liberty, the influence of Queen Elizabeth could not debar the exile from reply, nor was all her power sufficient to exclude the agency of the press from her closely guarded shores. Mr. Cartwright had no doubt anticipated the reply of his old adversary, which was published only a few weeks after his flight from England, and he lost no time in preparing, and in the following year publishing, "The Second Replie of Thomas Cartwright, against Maister Doctor Whitgifte's Second Answer touching the Church Discipline," and about two years after, he issued from the press a further continuation of his answer, entitled, "The Rest of the Second Replie."

Such were the forms under which this famous controversy appeared. Of the various points of attack and defence it is scarcely needful for our present purpose to go into detail. Points are steadily maintained on the one hand and resisted on the other, which the most zealous controversialists of our own day would yield by mutual consent. Other subjects of keen debate show the same points maintained and disputed then, which still constitute the source of contention between the churchmen and the nonconformists of our own day. The controversy is not unworthy of study by those who seek to understand that important era of our national history. The original old

black-letter quartos, though now rare, are still to be met with in public libraries; but the reader who desires to master this celebrated controversy without the labour of perusing it in the ponderous volumes* in which it first appeared, may find an instructive account of it in the "History of Protestant Nonconformity in England, by Thomas Price, D. D." a work from which we have already frequently quoted; and in Mr. Brook's "Memoir of the Life and Writings of Thomas Cartwright, B. D." an interesting abstract is given of the most prominent points that came under the review of these rival controversialists. The final answer to Cartwright, however, was given, not by Whitgift, but by Hooker, in his "Ecclesiastical polity," a work of profound learning, rare force of language, power, and beauty of thought. The work of Hooker has not yet become antiquated. It holds its place in the library of the modern scholar, as well as of the divine, and will amply repay the labour of study even to those with whom the opinions it maintains are least likely to find favour.

CHAPTER XI.

THE EXILE.

THE reader has already learned of the escape of Cartwright from the vigilance of his pursuers, acting under the orders of the Archbishops Parker and Grindal, and of his finding refuge at Heidelberg. When, however, the first feelings of gratification at the sense of freedom were past, the victim of religious intolerance found but a dreary

prospect before him. A stranger in a strange land, with uncertainty and fear overclouding his mind, he had to seek for the means of subsistence, as well as for the free exercise of his talents, under all the disadvantages of a foreigner and an exile. This cruel expatriation extended to a period of upwards of eleven years; but he was not left to spend these years in unfriended banishment, or in the useless dormancy of his great mental powers. The conformity of his sentiments with those maintained by the chief Continental divines, led to a speedy manifestation of Christian sympathy towards the exile for conscience' sake, and both his pen and his eloquence in the pulpit were speedily called into requisition, to beguile these years of forced absence from his native land. During this period he enjoyed the friendship of Beza, and of Junius, the fellow labourer of Tremellius in the Latin translation of the Bible; others of the most eminent scholars of the period cultivated his friendship, and afforded incontestible evidence of the high veneration they entertained for his piety and learning.

No biographical history or contemporary account has narrated for us the details of this long period of exile. We learn, however, from the notices that have been preserved of this period, that he spent the chief portion of these years at Middelburgh and Antwerp, at both of which places he found the liveliest sympathy and favour from the resident British merchants. He was chosen at each of these places as the minister of the English congregation established there, and no doubt found in the exercise of his ministerial duties and the evidences of their acceptableness, the greatest alleviation

of his sufferings in being compelled to cast himself on the hospitality and the charity of strangers in a foreign land.

Another of the duties that engaged the labours of Cartwright during this period, affords a curious example of the inconsistencies of which politicians are capable, while pursuing the devious and complicated tracks which the worldly policy of the statesman suggests. It happened strangely enough that at the very period when the sticklers for complete uniformity and a perfect Episcopal system of church polity in England, were driving forth from their country, or haling to prison, all who ventured to maintain a different opinion, the English governors of Jersey and Guernsey found it politic to encourage in these islands, situated so near the coast of France, colonies of French Protestants, many of them refugees who had escaped from the terrible slaughter of St. Bartholomew's day, and who there maintained, under the protection of British laws, exactly the same opinions as had been denounced and opposed with such vehemence, when professed by the English Puritans. The fame of the English exile having reached these Protestant refugees, whom the persecuting spirit of Popery had compelled to flee their native land, Cartwright was invited by them to visit Guernsey in 1576, along with Mr. Edward Snape, another English minister, to aid them in drawing up their system of ecclesiastical discipline. A Presbyterial assembly, or synod of the churches of Jersey and Guernsey, Sark, and Alderney, was accordingly convened at Port St. Pierre, at which the two English divines attended; and in the presence, and with the concurrence of the English governors, a form of ecclesiastical discipline was

adopted, and enjoined for future observance. The whole circumstances attendant on this remarkable proceeding are the more curious when we consider that Mr. Cartwright, while thus invited to become the counsellor and adviser of these subjects of the British government, was himself an exile from his native land, for maintaining the same opinions which these foreign exiles were countenanced in upholding by the British governors. Fortunately, both for him and them, the political interests of England outweighed in these islands the influence of her High Commission Courts, and the intolerable bigotry of her most influential ecclesiastics.

Having completed this service, Cartwright returned to Antwerp, and soon after married the sister of Mr. John Stubbs, whose barbarous sufferings have been already referred to. Strype has preserved a letter written by Stubbs from Buxton to Mr. Hicks, the Secretary of Lord Burghley, in which he says:—"We have no news here, but that Cartwright hath married my sister; and if with you, also, it be publicly known, and any mislike mine act in providing so for my sister, tell him, on my behalf, that I contented myself to take a husband for her whose livelihood was learning; who would endue his wife with wisdom; and who might leave to his children the rich portion of godliness by Christian careful education.

"And if this apology will not defend me, let him not marvel if I, esteeming these things as precious stones, while he rather chooseth the worldly commended things, riches, favour, &c., which I esteem less worth than a barley-corn." *

* Strype's Annals, vol. 1. b. 2. c. 10.

Mr. Cartwright found in this choice of a partner for life, a wife who could appreciate his worth, and honour him the more for the sufferings he endured for conscience' sake. She cheered and solaced him during years of banishment from his native land, and laboured with the most devoted love to alleviate the sufferings to which he was subjected when he again ventured back to his native shores.

But it was not on the Continent alone, or among his English Fellow-Puritans, that Cartwright met with honorable tokens of esteem and high appreciation of his worth. While he was engaged in his pastoral duties at Antwerp, he was invited to visit Scotland by King James VI., who held out promises of honourable advancement to him. From the well-known character of the Scottish King, and the line of policy afterwards adopted by him when he succeeded to the throne of Queen Elizabeth, we may readily conclude that such advances were rather the result of the esteem of the Scottish Presbyterian divines, than of the favour of the King, for the English Puritan. Nevertheless, of this offer of royal favour no doubt can be entertained.

In the dedication of his Latin Homilies on Ecclesiastes, to King James, Cartwright makes grateful mention of the generous offer which his Majesty made to him in his exile, by inviting him to undertake the duties of a professorship in the University of St. Andrews. During his abode at Antwerp, he was assisted in ministering to the English congregation by Mr. Dudley Fenner, who had gone there with a view to obtain ordination from the Presbyterian divines of that place. Mr. Fenner had formerly been his tutor at Cambridge. He regarded him with

deep veneration and love, and to his *Sacra Theologia*, published at Amsterdam, Cartwright prefixed a commendatory epistle, in token of his approbation and high esteem.

At the period when Cartwright published his "Second Reply against Master Dr. Whitgift's Second Answer," he was labouring under severe sickness, and oppressed by many wants and sufferings incident to a compulsory flight to a foreign land. Notwithstanding the heavy labours he had undertaken during the period of his assuming the ministerial charge of the congregations at Middelburgh and Antwerp, his health appears to have been long in a very precarious state, and the symptoms of disease assumed at length appearances of so alarming a nature that his physician recommended trial of his native air as the only chance of saving his life. Scarcely any position can be conceived more painfully trying both to himself and his friends than the one in which Mr. Cartwright was now placed. Already his wife had seen a beloved brother exposed on the scaffold, subjected to cruel mutilation, and to protracted imprisonment, for no other crime than that of having penned an honest and most respectful remonstrance against the projected union of his sovereign with a popish prince, and now she was reduced to the bitter alternative of seeing her husband pine and die, in a foreign land, or seek the chance of life from his native air at the risk of being cast into the dungeon from which he had before so hardly escaped. "Mr. Cartwright's constitution," the recent historian of the English Puritans remarks, "had been so shaken by disease, that he was advised by his physicians to try his native air. Knowing that he could not land in England without the danger of

being apprehended as a promoter of sedition, he wrote an epistle in elegant Latin to Lord Burghley, apologizing for himself, giving an account of his behaviour while abroad, and praying his Lordship to use his influence with the Queen for his safety. He wrote also to the Earl of Leicester, and to the Privy Council. Though the sympathy of the House of Lords was appealed to, and his noble patrons made intercession for him with the Queen, no sooner did he reach his native shore than he was cast into prison by Dr. Aylmer, Bishop of London. This unwarranted stretch of power, however, brought upon the heartless prelate her Majesty's displeasure, which was conveyed to him in a dignified rebuke from Lord Burghley. After suffering imprisonment for some months, Cartwright was released by his old adversary Whitgift, now Archbishop of Canterbury. It was to the interposition of Lord Burghley that he owed his deliverance. Though released from prison, he could not preach without the Archbishop's license, and this was refused. Under the patronage of the Earl of Leicester, he retired to the mastership of the hospital recently founded by that nobleman at Warwick. Here he was free from Episcopal jurisdiction; and he employed himself in praying with the brethren of the hospital, catechising them on the Sunday, preaching in the parish church, and once a-week at St. Mary's. He also united with his Puritan brethren in those measures for the further reform of the church, which remain to be more fully described."

The exiled sufferer was in his fiftieth year when he thus returned to his native land, after an absence of upwards of eleven years, reduced to the desperate choice

which intolerant bigotry had imposed on him, of an English prison or a foreign grave. The number of friends, however, which he speedily found among the most eminent English laymen, proves how little real sympathy there existed even then, in the minds of the laity, with the extravagant assumptions of haughty churchmen, backed by the vanity and ambition of the Tudor Queen. Not only did Lord Burghley interfere on his behalf, and the Earl of Leicester tender him his kind patronage and friendship; the names of the Earls of Warwick, Huntingdon, and Bedford, Lord Bacon, Sir Francis Knollys, and Sir Francis Walsingham, all appear among his foremost patrons and friends. Lord Burghley, indeed, deserves honourable mention for his frequent interference to stay the hand of persecution, or to temper its severity, against the Nonconformists. During the same year, 1585, in which Cartwright returned to England, the Lord Treasurer interfered in behalf of Robert Brown, a far greater dissenter from the tenets of the Church of England than Cartwright, and obtained his liberty after he had been apprehended by the ecclesiastical commissioners, and committed to the Sheriff of Norwich. Such proceedings are very characteristic of the cautious policy of Burghley. His Protestant zeal did not involve him in the persecutions of Queen Mary's reign, neither did his moderation bring him into dangerous collision with Queen Elizabeth and her servile churchmen. We find in him far more of the characteristics of a politic statesman, than evidence of a philosophic spirit working out great principles in the government of the state. To his wisdom and prudence, however, Elizabeth undoubtedly owes much of her high

reputation in history; and to his moderation, far more than to her tolerance, may be ascribed the contrast which her long reign—notwithstanding all the persecutions we have narrated—presents to that of her elder sister. That his own leanings were far more toward the ideas of the Puritan party, than to the political scheme of a state-church forced into being by Elizabeth and her pliant hierarchy, is apparent in many of his own untrammelled acts, and perhaps in none more than his choice of a domestic chaplain. At the very time when Nonconformity was being hunted down with such unrelenting zeal, Mr. Walter Travers had repaired to Antwerp to obtain Presbyterial ordination, in preference to the orders conferred by the English bishops; he afterwards acted as Mr. Cartwright's assistant and colleague, as we have already noticed, and returning to England in the same year as the subject of the present memoir, he was prohibited by Archbishop Whitgift from preaching in any place in the kingdom. Nevertheless, this was the divine selected by the Lord Treasurer for his chaplain, and through his influence Travers was appointed to the lectureship of the Temple, for which no subscription was requisite.

CHAPTER XII.

PRESBYTERIANISM ORGANIZED.

THROUGH the kind favour of his powerful friend, the Earl of Leicester, Cartwright was now placed in a position

in which he might enjoy both leisure and some degree of liberty in the exercise of the ministerial office. His ever active mind, however, could not be satisfied with anything short of the full use of his great intellectual powers. In this period of retirement he undertook to prepare an elaborate refutation of the Rhemish translation of the New Testament, a work on which the most learned and subtle of the Roman Catholic writers had been employed, in order to counteract the influence of the Protestant versions of the Scriptures. In this work Cartwright was not only encouraged by the approbation of many eminent men, and learned and pious divines, but he appears to have been selected for the task by the almost unanimous voice of his contemporaries. The most able and learned members of the universities urged him to undertake the work; many of the most pious of the clergy concurred in expressing the same desire; and when the Queen of England applied to Beza, the learned Reformer of Geneva, as though she conceived that the Church of England possessed no man sufficiently powerful to cope with the chosen champions of Popery, he referred to one of her own subjects, Thomas Cartwright, as far abler to become the defender of the Protestant cause. Sir Francis Walsingham, her Secretary of State, seconded this recommendation by an urgent appeal to Cartwright to begin the work, for which purpose he enclosed him the sum of one hundred pounds, to assist him in purchasing such books as he might stand in need of. It might readily be conceived that the most haughty sticklers for the canons and ritual of the Church of England would have rejoiced to see the champion of Puritan Nonconformity enlisted

against the common foe, were it on no other grounds than the security it gave for his silence on the points in dispute between him and them. No sooner, however, was Archbishop Whitgift fully aware of the extent of his design than he forbad him to proceed with it;—a proceeding, which, without any breach of charity, may be ascribed even more to the mean spirit of rivalry, than to his narrow-minded zeal for the supremacy of church order, and perfect uniformity in all ecclesiastical matters.

"It seems," says Fuller, "Walsingham was Secretary of State, not of religion, wherein the Archbishop overpowered him. Many commended his care not to intrust the defence of the doctrine of England to a few so disaffected to the discipline thereof. Others blamed his jealousy to deprive the church of such learned pains of him whose judgment would so solidly, and affections so zealously, confute the public adversary. Distasteful passages—shooting at Rome, but glancing at Canterbury—if any such were found in his book might be expunged; whilst it was a pity so good fruit should be blasted in the bud, for some bad leaves about it. Disheartened hereat, Cartwright desisted, but some years after, encouraged by an honourable lord, resumed the work; but, prevented by death, perfected no further than the fifteenth chapter of Revelation. Many years lay this worthy work neglected, and the copy mouse-eaten in part when the printer excused some defects therein in his edition, which, though late, at last came forth, Anno 1618. A book which, notwithstanding the aforesaid defects, is so complete, that the Rhemists durst never return the least answer thereto." *

* Fuller's Church History, b. 9. s. 6.

Meanwhile many attempts were made to obtain by constitutional means some relaxation of the rigid forms, and the oppressive enactments of the ecclesiastical establishment. Various petitions were presented to parliament, and their prayers very favourably entertained by many in both houses. But the advocates found a ready weapon against all these efforts for increased liberty by proclaiming the prerogatives of the crown in danger. The Queen was sufficiently bent on maintaining her ecclesiastical supremacy, as successor to the power formerly assumed by the Pope, to need little prompting from the Archbishop. Urged, however, by his instigations she assumed the full prerogatives of a despotic crown, condemned the proposed measures as prejudicial alike to religion and good government, and sent to the Tower such of the members of the House of Commons as had displayed the greatest zeal in advocating them. "Whether," adds the biographer of Cartwright, in alluding to this period, "the Church of England had a fair prospect of having Protestant popes, and even female popes, may be left to the reader to judge."

From this time the English Puritans may be considered to have assumed a distinct standing apart from the established church. The hope of gaining the desired reforms could no longer be entertained while Elizabeth occupied the throne, and they accordingly proceeded to develope a scheme of ecclesiastical polity, in which they gave the more freedom to their own opinions from its being no longer of any avail to seek for favour or tolerance by any attempt at compromise. In this, as in every case where compulsory conformity is attempted to be enforced, we see how completely it defeats its own object.

The English Puritans, who, by some slight relaxations in the formula of habits and the minuter ceremonials of the ritual, might have been retained in the communion of the church, were thus driven into opposition and gradually forced to develope a system altogether antagonist to that by which it was modelled.

That the system they finally adopted was such as best tended to effect the establishment of religious liberty cannot be contended by any one who carefully studies the principles it involves. We have already remarked how imperfectly the principles of toleration were then understood even by the keenest advocates for liberty of dissent from established usage. The intolerance resulting from the ecclesiastical system which was now organised by the Puritans of England, became apparent, when, for the first time, it obtained supremacy under the Long Parliament. Dr. Price remarks on this, with his usual impartiality and candour, in narrating the consequences of Queen Elizabeth's abrupt termination of all projected ecclesiastical reforms:—

"Failing in the constitutional methods thus employed to obtain redress, the Puritans assumed a bolder aspect, and spoke in a firmer and less compromising tone. As the hope of obtaining the magistrate's concurrence was abandoned, they felt the necessity of adopting more vigorous measures, and of promptly acting on their own convictions. An important work, entitled *Disciplina Ecclesiæ Sacra, ex Dei Verbo descripta*, had been drawn up in Latin, principally by Travers, and printed at Geneva about the year 1574, which embodied their views. This was now translated into English, after having been revised

by Cartwright and other leading Puritans, and was extensively subscribed by the clergy in the following words. 'We acknowledge and confess the same, agreeable to God's most holy word, so far as we are able to judge or discern of it, excepting some few points, (which had been sent to some assembly of the brethren for further consideration.) And we affirm it to be the same which we desire to be established in this church, by daily prayer to God; which we profess, as God shall offer opportunity, and give us to discern it, so expedient, by humble suit unto her majesty's honourable council and to the parliament, and by all other lawful and convenient means, to further and advance, so far as the law and peace of the present state of our church will suffer it, and not to enforce to the contrary. We promise to guide ourselves, and to be guided by it, and according to it, &c. We profess uniformly to follow such regard when we preach the word of God, as in that book by us is set down in the chapter of the office of ministers of the word.' They also engaged to attend the classical conferences which were to be held every six weeks, and the provincial meetings every half year, as well as the general assemblies which were to be convened annually. This work contained the substance of the alterations for which the Puritans pleaded. It is expository, and not controversial, exhibiting the system which they wished to introduce, rather than confuting that of their adversaries. As a model of church government, it is open to some serious objections, and would, probably, had it been adopted by the legislature, have involved much of the injustice and oppression of which its framers complained. Its distinctive characteristics were the mainte-

nance of the equality of ministers, the vesting in the eldership the government of the church, a rigid enforcement of discipline, and a systematic arrangement of ecclesiastical meetings for the regulation of church affairs.

"The disciplinarians, as the Puritans about this time were frequently called, now began to systematize their proceedings, and to assume, in different parts of the country, a more decidedly Presbyterian form. Meetings were held at stated periods, and classes were formed, in which the business of the association was transacted, and the religious interests of the churches reviewed. Their meetings were held in private houses, and the method of conducting them was as follows. Divine guidance having been sought, a moderator was chosen by vote, who again offered prayer. The names of the brethren were then called over. and the matters to be considered were discussed. The authority of the moderator extended to the next meeting of the classes, for which some day was appointed, sometimes within a fortnight, and rarely extending beyond three weeks. On the occurrence of any circumstance which required the consideration of the brethren, the moderator was empowered to call them together before the appointed day. Each member of the classes engaged, on his admission, to submit to the orders and decrees which should be agreed upon by a majority of the brethren. There was another meeting termed the *assembly*, which consisted of delegates from the *classes*. It was held less frequently, and was designed for the determination of more important and weighty matters. Various resolutions, designed to consolidate their union and to advance their cause, were adopted at these meetings. In

the one held at Cambridge or Warwick, in 1587, the brethren are directed to wipe off the calumny of schism, since they communicated with the church in the word and sacraments, and in all other things except its corruptions; and in the following year, the Warwickshire classes, in their provincial synod, agreed amongst other things, that private baptisms were unlawful; that homilies were not to be read in the church, nor the sign of the cross to be used in baptism; that the calling of bishops is unlawful; their sentence of deprivation to be resisted; and their courts to be protested against as illegal. These proceedings showed the inefficacy of rigour, and the folly of Elizabeth's bishops in despising the scruples and in oppressing the persons of their Puritan brethren. The latter had been gradually taught their numbers and strength. Their isolated condition, and the hope of future redress, had long kept them from acting in concert. But the sympathy which suffering induces now brought them together, and the similarity of their principles and wrongs impelled them to organize a resistance to episcopal tyranny more systematic and fearless than any they had hitherto offered. While disunited, they might easily have been satisfied by concession, or overwhelmed by power, but instantly that their strength was united, they began to rise in their demands, and to feel more confidence in the ultimate success of their cause." *

While, however, comparing the opinions of Cartwright and of the early Puritans with the more enlightened views of the modern advocates of liberty of conscience, let us not forget that imperfect and inconsistent as their

* Price's Hist. of Nonconformity, vol. i. p. 363-7.

views then were, it was to them that the germ of our national liberty owed its being. It were folly to decry the light of daybreak because it fails to rival the mid-day beams, and equally unreasonable is it in those who fail to do justice to these advocates of liberty of conscience and the right of private judgment, under the stern rule of the last of the Tudors, although they had not learned to concede to others what they contended for as their own right. It was in obedience to the dictates of conscience that they went forth into the high places of the field bearing their lives and liberties in their hands, and the sacrifices they made abundantly testify to their sincerity in the cause.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE INVINCIBLE ARMADA.

In the year 1588, England was again recalled from intestine struggles between Protestant rivals, seeking enforced uniformity or liberty to differ, by another terrible manifestation of the hatred with which the adherents of Rome regarded all who dared to renounce the faith and allegiance of the sovereign pontiff. During the whole summer of 1587, the ports of Spain and Portugal displayed an unwonted activity, and though no declaration of war had been made, it was well known that Philip of Spain meditated a bloody vengeance on the Queen of England. "Already," says Miss Aikin, referring to this period, "the ports of Spain and Portugal had begun to be thronged with vessels of various sorts and of every size

destined to compose that terrible Armada from which nothing less than the complete subjugation of England was anticipated;—already had the Pope showered down his benedictions on the holy enterprise; and by a bull declaring the throne of the schismatic princess forfeited to the first occupant, made way for he pretensions of Philip, who claimed it as the true heir of the house of Lancaster.

"But Elizabeth was not of a temper so timid or so supine as to suffer these preparations to advance without interruption. She ordered Drake to sail immediately for the coast of Spain and put in practice against her enemy every possible mode of injury and annoyance. To the four great ships which she alloted to him for this service, the English merchants, instigated by the hopes of plunder, cheerfully added twenty-six more of different sizes; and with this force the daring leader steered for the port of Cadiz, where a richly-laden fleet lay ready to sail for Lisbon, the final rendezvous for the whole armada. By the impetuosity of his attack, he compelled six galleys which defended the mouth of the harbour to seek shelter under its batteries; and having thus forced an entrance, he captured, burned, and destroyed about a hundred store-ships and two galleons of superior size. This done, he returned to Cape St. Vincent, then took three castles, and destroying as he proceeded every thing that came in his way, even to the fishing-boats and nets, he endeavoured to provoke the Spanish admiral to come out and give him battle off the mouth of the Tagus. But the Marquis of Santa Croce deemed it prudent to suffer him to pillage the coast without molestation. Having fully effected this object, he made sail for the Azores, where

the capture of a bulky carrack returning from India amply indemnified the merchants for all the expenses of the expedition, and enriched the admiral and his crews. Drake returned to England in a kind of triumph, boasting that he had "singed the whiskers" of the King of Spain: nor was his vaunt unfounded; the destruction of the store-ships and the havoc committed by him on the magazines of every kind was a mischief so great, and for the present so irreparable, that it crippled the whole design and compelled Philip to defer, for no less than a year, the sailing of his Invincible Armada."

At the very period when the bigoted ruler of Spain had been thus compelled to defer his assault on Protestant England, Dr. Whitgift,—whom some of his contemporaries not inaptly styled "the Pope of Lambeth," —had compelled Cartwright to lay aside the worthier weapons he was busily forging against Romish assailants of Protestantism. In a letter of his written during the previous year 1586, in answer to the inquiries of one of his most friendly patrons, he states that he has been so harassed by frequent hindrances and discouragements, that he felt then disposed to lay aside his pen; and another letter addressed to the Earl of Leicester some years later, assigns the period of which we are now writing as that in which the envious opposition of his old adversary, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had succeeded in staying the pen of the Rhemists' able and skilful opponent. The Protestants of England, however, did not depend on one single pen, against their astute opponents. Dr. Fulke, an eminent member of the University of Cambridge stepped into the arena to supply the

absence of Cartwright, and, in addition to various works of deserved celebrity, published "The Text of the New Testament, translated out of the Vulgar Latine by the Papists of the Traiterous Seminarie at Rhemis;" accompanying it with the authorized English version in parallel columns. Dr. Fulke was an intimate friend and admirer of Cartwright, and declared in his preface his anticipation of the more elaborate and learned work of his friend. Dr. Bilson, Dr. Bulkley, and other zealous divines engaged in the same worthy strife, defending the purity of the gospel as given to us by Christ and his apostles, and animating their fellow-countrymen to stand boldly forward in defence of so great a gift, at the very period when the adversaries of truth, as of England, were taking council together against their liberties, and their very being as a nation. While the nations of Europe were busied with the rumours of the great Spanish Armada, and hope or fear divided their councils according to their wishes, Dr. Bulkley's quarto issued from the press, dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham and entitled, "An Answer to Ten Frivolous and Foolish Reasons set down by the Rhemist Jesuits and Papists in their Preface before the New Testament." It could not be but that new zeal and energy must animate the adherents of the Protestant faith in England at a time when they were menaced by such overwhelming dangers. The divines of England turned to the assault of Romish errors with a peculiarly vivid sense of their enormity, when such an armament approached their shores, animated more by fanatic bigotry and a hatred of Protestant heretics, than by any ordinary incentive to the rivalry of nations.

"In March, 1588," says the historian of this reign, to whom we have before referred, "all conferences broke off abruptly. It was impossible for either party longer to deceive, or to act the being deceived, for all Europe now rang with the mighty preparations of King Philip for the conquest of England—preparations which occupied the whole of his vast, though disjointed empire, from the Flemish provinces which still owned his yoke, to the distant ports of Sicily and Naples.

The spirit of the English people rose with the emergency. All ranks and orders vied with each other in an eager devotedness to the sacred cause of national independence; the rich poured forth their treasures with unsparing hand; the chivalrous and young rushed on board ships of their own equipment, a band of generous volunteers; the poor demanded arms to destroy every invader who should set his foot on English ground; while the clergy animated their audiences against the Pope and the Spaniard, and invoked a blessing on the holy warfare of their fellow-citizens. Elizabeth, casting aside all her weaknesses, showed herself worthy to be the Queen and the heroine of such a people. Her prudence, her vigilance, her presence of mind—which failed not for a moment—inspired unbounded confidence; while her cheerful countenance and spirited demeanour breathed hope and courage and alacrity into the coldest bosoms. . . . The best troops of the country were at this time absent in Flanders, and there was no standing army except the Queen's guard and the garrisons kept in a few forts on the coast, or on the Scottish border. The royal navy was extremely small, and the revenues of the crown were totally inade-

quate to the effort of raising it to anything approaching a parity with the fleets of Spain. The Queen possessed not a single ally on the Continent capable of affording her aid; she doubted the fidelity of the King of Scots to her interests; and a formidable mass of disaffection was believed to subsist among her own subjects of the Catholic communion. It was on the spontaneous efforts of individuals that the whole safety of the country at this momentous crisis was left dependent: if these had failed, England was lost; but in such a cause, and at such a juncture, they could not fail; and the first appeal made by the government to the patriotism of the people was answered with that spirit in which a nation is invincible. A message was sent by the privy-council to inquire of the corporation of London what the city would be willing to undertake for the public service? The corporation requested to be informed what the council might judge requisite in such a case. Fifteen ships, and five thousand men, was the answer. Two days after, the city 'humbly intreated the council, in sign of their perfect love and loyalty to prince and country, to accept ten thousand men and thirty ships amply furnished.' 'And,' adds the chronicler, 'even as London, London-like, gave the precedent, the whole kingdom kept true rank and equipage.'"

The intense feeling of horror and detestation which such invasion engendered against the upholders of a faith capable of producing such fruits as a French St. Bartholomew and Spanish Armada, was speedily manifested throughout the nation. The people outran their rulers in zeal against the adherents of the Romish Church, and all

who continued to profess an allegiance to Rome, became suspected of treason to England. "One trait of the times," says the historian, "it is essential to commemorate. Terror is, perhaps, the most merciless of all sentiments, and that which is least restrained either by shame or by the sense of justice; and under this debasing influence some of the Queen's advisers did not hesitate to suggest, that in a crisis so desperate, she ought to consult her own safety and that of the country, by seeking pretexts to take away the lives of some of the leading Catholics. They cited in support of this atrocious proposal, the example of Henry VIII., her father; who, before his departure for the French wars, had without scruple brought to the block his own cousin the Marquis of Exeter, and several others; whose chief crime was their attachment to the ancient faith, and their enjoying a degree of popularity which might enable them to raise commotions in his absence.

"Elizabeth rejected with horror these suggestions of cowardice and cruelty; at the same time that she omitted no measures of precaution which she regarded as justifiable. The existing laws against priests and seminary-men were enforced with vigilance and severity; all popish recusants were placed under close inspection; and a considerable number of those accounted most formidable were placed under safe custody in Wisbeach Castle.

"To these gentlemen, however, the Queen caused it to be intimated that the step which she had taken was principally designed for their protection; since it was greatly to be apprehended that, in the event of a landing of the Spaniards, the Roman Catholics might become the victims

of some ebullition of popular fury, which it would not then be in the power of the government to repress.

"This lenient proceeding on the part of her Majesty was productive of the best effects; the Catholics who remained at liberty became earnest to prove themselves possessed of that spirit of patriotism and loyalty for which she had given them credit. Some entered the ranks as volunteers, others armed and encouraged their tenantry and dependents for the defence of their country; several even fitted out vessels at their own expense and intrusted the command of them to Protestant officers on whom the Queen could rely.

"After the defeat of the Armada, the prisoners at Wisbeach Castle, having signed the submission required by law of such as had offended in hearing mass and absenting themselves from church, petitioned the Privy Council for their liberty; but a bond for good behaviour being further demanded of them, with the condition of being obedient to such orders as six members of the Privy Council should write down respecting them, they refused to comply with such terms of enlargement, and remained in custody. As the submission which they had tendered voluntarily was in terms apparently no less strong than the bond which they refused, it was conjectured that the former piece had been drawn up by their ghostly fathers with some private equivocation or mental reservation—a suspicion which is strongly confirmed by the character and subsequent conduct of some of these persons, the most noted fanatics certainly of their party, and amongst whom we read the names of Talbot, Catesby, and Tresham, afterwards conspirators in the detestable gunpowder plot."

Notwithstanding such moderation towards her Roman Catholic subjects, Elizabeth failed not to avail herself of the religious feelings of the nation to animate them to still greater exertions, and to unity and valour in acting against their implacable foe. In the stirring harangue with which she roused the military ardour of the soldiery when reviewing them at Tilbury Fort, she encouraged them not to doubt "but we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people." Spain, Rome, and the enemies of Protestantism throughout Europe flattered themselves, that the power and independence of England was to be annihilated at a blow. The Spaniards, in the vain spirit of confident boasting, had given their fleet the name of the Invincible Armada. It was, indeed, a force calculated to excite the confidence of those who sent it forth, while the stoutest heart in England might well be appalled at its appearance. It consisted of 130 vessels—many of them the largest that had ever approached our shores. The crews and soldiers that manned this vast fleet, exceeded 27,000 in number; while a powerful army of 34,000 horse and foot were assembled by the Duke of Parma, in the neighbourhood of Newport and Dunkirk, ready with numerous transports to pass at once to the British coasts.

At the time when preparations were begun in England for meeting such overwhelming forces, the whole naval power of England consisted, as we have seen, only of thirty ships, the very largest of which was much inferior to the second-rate vessels of the Armada. Merchant vessels, however, were speedily prepared for the emer-

gency, and such zeal displayed in this great national cause, that Queen Elizabeth had soon a fleet of 180 vessels at her command, though still in every way inferior in weight and size to those of the enemy.

The most sceptical mind can hardly peruse the accounts of this mighty force, opposed to such inferior odds, and the absolute annihilation of the whole armament, without regarding it as a most remarkable evidence of Providential oversight. When the Armada was ready to sail from Lisbon, in May 1588, the Marquess de Santa Cruz, the chosen admiral of the fleet, suddenly expired, and the Duke de Paliano, the second in command, had scarcely made ready to take his place, when the same malignant fever carried him off. Santa Cruz had been reckoned the first naval officer in Spain. His successor—only found with great difficulty—was a nobleman of high reputation for his courage, but utterly ignorant of naval affairs. Much valuable time was lost by this means; but still the mighty force of men and ships remained, and the people of England waited in dread suspense, though not in inactivity, awaiting their approach.

The reports that were brought from time to time, were of the most conflicting nature. At one period it was so confidently affirmed that the whole fleet had been destroyed in a storm, that Queen Elizabeth sent orders to Admiral Lord Howard to disband the crew of his four largest vessels. Fortunately the admiral was less credulous than either the Queen or her ministers; and he soon after received intelligence from his own messengers, that the Armada had reached the English channel, and on the following day he perceived the vast fleet approaching di-

rectly towards him in the form of a crescent, which extended seven miles across the sea, from wing to wing. The details of the interesting and eventful contest that followed have often been related. The huge ships of Spain were dashed against each other and crippled and thrown into confusion by tempestuous weather. By means of fire-ships opportunely sent into the midst of them by the English admiral, terror and destruction were spread throughout the vast fleet, and, as opportunity offered, the small but bravely manned ships of England dashed into the midst of the enemies' apparently overwhelming force, and speedily proved that their huge and unwieldy ships were ill suited for the narrow seas and difficult pilotage of the Channel. Their guns fired over the small and low vessels of the English fleet, while every shot from the latter told with amazing effect. Some were sunk, others driven ashore, or set on fire and deserted, and the terror-stricken Spanish admiral at length found even flight impossible, and desperately led his fleet by the circuitous route round the extreme north of Scotland, on a homeward voyage which comparatively few of them succeeded in accomplishing. Their treasure-ships became a prey to the English fleet, their most powerful vessels were dashed to pieces on the Scottish and Irish coasts, and nearly 11,000 Spaniards perished in the expedition. A large and beautiful medal was struck by the Dutch on this occasion, bearing a representation of the Armada, with the appropriate motto below, "Jehovah blew, and they were scattered."

Amid such mighty dangers and such signal mercies, it might have been anticipated that the least tolerant of English Protestants would have forgot their differences

with their brethren, in the sense of a common danger and a common deliverance. Such, however, was not the case. The history of the year 1588 must ever form an important and a most honourable chapter in the annals of England: but it has its shadows as well as its lights; and they show all the darker from the contrast they offer with the great political events of the period. Mr. Cartwright had withdrawn to the hospital founded by the Earl of Leicester at Warwick, anticipating there a secure asylum under the protection of his kind patron and the privileges of the hospital, which was beyond the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese. He was a man of much too great eminence, however, to be suffered to enjoy in peace so honourable a retreat for his declining years. He was summoned before Bishop Freke, a zealous upholder of conformity, by whom he was accused of being factious and discontented, and disturbing the peace and quietness of the church, by innovations brought from Geneva. "You had best take heed," said his imperious judge, when Cartwright appeared before him, "that you run not upon the same rock on which the Papists split, and draw upon yourself the same penalty that is ordained for those who alienate the hearts of the subjects both from their prince and religion." Cartwright escaped the machinations of his enemies at this time, but his trials were not at an end. The death of his kind patron the Earl of Leicester, which took place in 1588, involved him in new troubles, and these were still further augmented on the death of his brother, "the good Earl," as he was commonly styled; who held the title little more than a year. On the death of the latter patron, the funds of the hospital at Warwick

were threatened with alienation, and their chief care, with all the anxieties consequent thereon, devolved on the chaplain, in addition to his accumulating cares.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE STAR CHAMBER AND THE FLEET.

It was probably owing to the death of Cartwright's noble and bountiful patrons, the Earls of Leicester, that his latter years were again disturbed and his liberty taken away by his old adversaries, on the same grounds on which he had already been subjected to so much suffering. Although released from prison through the good services of his friends, and quietly inducted into the mastership of the hospital at Warwick, he had continued under suspension, and deprived of all legal right or license to occupy any English pulpit. His principal ministrations were thenceforth carried on within the hospital, whose privileges exempted him there from Episcopal control. He ventured, however, frequently to preach in St. Mary's Church at Warwick, and occasionally in other churches of the neighbourhood; and no doubt the acceptableness of his services and the crowds that he attracted were sufficient to excite the indignation of his more violent opponents. We accordingly find that in the same year in which "The good Earl of Leicester" died, he received a citation to appear before the Star Chamber Commission, along with Edmund Snape, and some other Puritan ministers in Northamptonshire and

Warwickshire, charged with calling in question the forms and usages of the church, and setting up a new discipline and form of worship in contravention of the established laws.

It reflects no slight dishonour on Archbishop Whitgift that he was the most prominent actor in this shameful renewal of persecution against his early opponent. It would have been a graceful and generous use of his exalted station to have sheltered the declining years of his adversary, or at least to have overlooked his consistent adherence to the opinions he had maintained under so many privations and sufferings. "Thirty-nine articles," says Price, "were objected against him, to which he was required to answer on oath. These articles charged him with renouncing the orders of the Church of England; with being reordained on the Continent; with setting up a new ecclesiastical system; with not using the Book of Common Prayer; with disturbing the peace of the church; and with attending various unlawful meetings to organize and extend an opposition to the hierarchy. He was also charged with knowing the authors of the Marprelate and other pamphlets, and with having written, or procured the writing, of the Book of Discipline. He objected to the oath which was required from him, as contrary to the laws of God and man; but as some of the articles involved matters which he deemed criminal, and from the suspicion of which he was desirous of freeing his ministry, he offered to be sworn to the answers which he should return to them. 'Otherwise,' he said, 'he would never be drawn upon oath to answer, lest by his answer upon oath in this case, others might be prejudiced, who would refuse

to answer upon theirs; and that if there was any article that he refused to answer upon oath, he offered to give reasons thereof, which if it would not satisfy them, he would submit himself to the punishment they should award.' "

This oath was one of the peculiar and oppressive instruments of tyranny in use at that period. It was employed in all the spiritual courts, but especially in the High Commission Court, converting thereby these ecclesiastical tribunals into courts of inquisition, in which persons were compelled to answer on bare suspicion, and put to their oath for their own condemnation. This most unjust system continued to be an appendage of the High Commission Court so long as it existed, and was only abolished, along with the court to which it pertained, in the reign of Charles I.

For refusing to criminate himself by means of this inquisitorial oath, Cartwright and his brethren were committed to the Fleet. From his prison Cartwright wrote to the Lord Treasurer, declaring his entire innocence of the charges laid against him, and entreating Lord Burghley to interfere on his behalf, and prevent his enemies carrying out their violent intentions against him. In this letter he refers not only to charges of Nonconformity, and to the accusation of having a hand in the celebrated "Martin Marprelate's" satyres, but also to calumnious charges of dicing, drinking, and assault, which prove how little regard for truth his more violent assailants or their infamous informers, must have shown, in this attempt to ruin "The Father of the Puritans," as he is styled by Neal.

Lord Burghley replied to Cartwright's appeal by a letter to the Archbishop, in which he very strongly expressed his disapprobation of Whitgift's proceedings, and urged the propriety of his taking no part in the prosecution of his former opponent. Cartwright, he remarked, seemed no longer obnoxious to any reasonable censure for active Nonconformity, "because he now constantly affirmed to him, that he had given no cause of late years to be charged with any disorder, in his preaching or readings, he was of opinion, that it were not good in charity, nor to edification, to have so far strained upon an old charge. That his grace must not think that he was carried away with any particular respect for this man; or to any, to comfort them in walking disorderly. But yet he prayed his grace to bear with his conceit, viz., that he saw not that diligence or care taken to win these kind of men that were precise, either by learning or courtesy, which, as he imagined, might reclaim them." *

Cartwright followed up his letter to the Lord Treasurer by equally urgent appeals to other influential laymen, but with little success. His persecutors were more perplexed by his refusal to reply to an examination on oath than by any appeal he might make to men in power. Cartwright replied with great justice and force to one of his examinators who questioned him on his inclination to publish a disavowal of the writings of Martin Marprelate, "I ask again, what office have I to publish condemnation upon every unlawful and uncivil writing that cometh abroad?" The prosecutors of the Puritans thus baffled by their declining to purge themselves by oath of every-

* Strype's Whitgift, vol. ii. p. 25.

slander that could be devised for the purpose of forcing them to criminate themselves, resolved to proceed in the most summary manner against them. "It was therefore thought convenient," says Strype, "to bring them into the court of Star Chamber, which had a power of inflicting severer punishments than imprisonment and deprivation." The ecclesiastical commissioners debated accordingly with the law officers of the Crown as to the most suitable sentence to be pronounced against them in the arbitrary tribunal to which they were referred, and had it not been for the interference of the Lord Treasurer and others, a summary sentence of perpetual banishment would have placed them beyond the reach of help from their most powerful friends. "The Star Chamber," says Neal, "was a court made up of certain noblemen, bishops, judges, and counsellors of the Queen's nomination to the number of twenty or thirty, with her Majesty at their head, who is the sole judge when present, the other members being only to give their opinion to their sovereign by way of advice, which he [or she] disallows at pleasure; but in the absence of the sovereign the determination is by a majority, the Lord Chancellor or keeper having a casting vote. The determinations of this court, says Mr. Rushwort, were not by the verdict of a jury, nor according to any statute law of the land, but according to the King [or Queen's] royal will and pleasure, and yet they were made as binding to the subject as an act of parliament. In the reign of King Henry VII. the practice of that court was thought to intrench upon the common law, though it seldom did any business; but in the latter end of this, and during the two next reigns, the court sat con-

stantly, and was so unmerciful in its censures and punishments, that the whole nation cried aloud against it as a mark of the vilest slavery. Lord Clarendon says, 'There were very few persons of quality in those times that had not suffered, or been perplexed by the weight and fear of its censures and judgments; for having extended their jurisdiction from riots, perjuries, and the most notorious misdemeanours, to an asserting of all proclamations and orders of state, to the vindicating illegal commissioners and grants of monopolies, no man could hope to be any longer free from the inquisition of that court, than he resolved to submit to those and the like extraordinary courses.'"

When Cartwright and his brethren appeared before this court, we learn from the account of its proceedings in the Life of Whitgift, that they were treated with extreme violence and injustice, being denied even the liberty of making a defence. The Attorney General inveighed bitterly against them for refusing the oath, and when Mr. Fuller, who appeared as counsel for the prisoners, stood up to reply in their defence, he was commanded to be silent, and was told that far less crimes than theirs had been punished with the galleys or perpetual banishment. "The first appearance of Cartwright and his brethren in the Star Chamber," says Dr. Price, "was on the 13th of May, 1591; soon after which, he was again cited before the High Commissioners. In this examination he was separated from his brethren, and was called to it secretly, and without warning; his persecutors probably hoping, that if they could subdue his opposition, they should easily overcome that of his brethren. His purpose, however,

was inflexible, though Aylmer and Bancroft did their utmost to induce him to comply. The former charged him with falsehood, and the latter with inconsistency; while the civilians, as well as the divines, suggested, in order to arouse his fears, that his refusal of the oath might be regarded as an act of rebellion against the Queen. Cartwright defended himself with distinguished success; but his moderation and talent failed to subdue the hostility of his foes, and he was consequently left to the comforts of a prison, and the tender mercies of the Star Chamber. A bill was accordingly exhibited against him and eight of his brethren, specifying the misdemeanours with which they were charged. These related principally to their associations and discipline, and were substantially the same as those specified in the thirty-one articles preferred against them in the High Commission Court. They underwent several examinations, and their answers not proving satisfactory, they were detained in prison."

Meanwhile Cartwright wrote repeatedly to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, appealing to his sense of justice, and detailed the iniquitous proceedings to which he was subjected. But it did not consist with the cautious prudence of Lord Burghley to commit himself to any hasty interference on behalf of the oppressed, and the proceedings of the High Commission suffered little change from the private expression of his disapprobation, although that was stated in no stinted terms when writing to Archbisop Whitgift. "I have read over," says the Lord Treasurer in one of his letters to Whitgift, "your '*twenty-four* articles, of great length and curiosity, formed in a *Romish* style, to examine all manner of ministers

without distinction, and to be executed *ex officio mero.* I find these articles so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, that I think the *Inquisition of Spain* used not so many questions to comprehend and entrap their prey! I know your canonists can defend these, with all their particles. But surely, under your grace's correction, this judicial and canonical sifting of poor ministers is not to edify and reform. And in charity I think they ought not to answer all these nice points, except they were very notorious offenders in papistry or heresy. Now, my good lord, bear with my scribbling: I write with the testimony of a good conscience: I desire the peace of the church. I desire concord and unity in the exercise of our religion: I favour no sensual and wilful recusant; but I conclude that, according to my simple judgment, this kind of proceeding is too much savouring of the *Romish Inquisition*, and is a device to *seek* for offenders rather than to *reform* any!" *

The position of Cartwright was particularly trying and hopeless, the very sense of innocence, and the indefinite nature of all the charges brought against him, were calculated to drive the prisoner to despair when he found such a tribunal presented to him as the dispenser of justice. But, added to the intolerable burden of such wrongs, he was weighed down by severe bodily afflictions which were greatly aggravated by the privations to which he was subjected in prison. In one of his petitions for release, he urged that he was afflicted with gout and sciatica, which had been greatly increased by his confinement in the cold and damp cells of the prison, and he besought the

* Fuller, b. ix. p. 155.

Lord Treasurer and others to procure his enlargement by their influence with the Queen, even though it should be only temporarily and on bond. Some of the most eminent members of the University of Cambridge also addressed an urgent appeal to the Lord Treasurer on his behalf, entreating that he might not be more hardly dealt with than the Roman Catholics, to whom considerable toleration had been extended from time to time.

All these appeals proved equally ineffectual in moving the unjust oppressors of these sufferers for conscience' sake to relax in their severity. Their wrongs, however, excited a strong feeling of commiseration in the breasts of thousands, and doubtless led many to call in question the scriptural foundation of a church, whose leaders sought to promote its extension and influence over the minds of others by such means. An equally strong feeling of sympathy was excited in the minds of the most eminent foreign Protestants, who saw with wonder their brethren subjected to persecutions little inferior to the cruelties with which the Church of Rome had sought to overthrow the very church that thus was implicated in the persecution of Protestant confessors. This feeling of sympathy was manifested with peculiar fervour in Scotland, and led to an interference on behalf of the sufferers from one the least likely, to all appearance, to have become the mediator for Nonconformity. This new petitioner on behalf of the prisoners in the fleet was none other than James, the King of Scotland, who, urged most probably by the Scottish ministers to interfere on behalf of their English brethren, was the less unwilling to appear as intercessor on the side of mercy, from the

anxiety he then felt to ingratiate himself with all classes of the English nation, in order to pave the way for his peaceable accession to the English throne. The Scottish King accordingly addressed the following letter to Queen Elizabeth, urging her forbearance towards the prisoners, in language which might have been too fitly addressed to himself on very many occasions after he succeeded to the English crown:—

"Right excellent, high and mighty Prince, our dearest Sister and Cousin, in our heartiest manner we recommend us unto you.

"Hearing of the apprehension of Mr. Udal and Mr. Cartwright, and certain other ministers of the evangel within your realm, of right good erudition and faithful travails in the church, we hear a very credible good report; howsoever their diversities from the bishops and others of your clergy, in matters touching them in conscience, have been a means by their dilation to work them to your misliking. At this present time, we cannot, (weighing the duty which we owe to such as are afflicted for their consciences in that profession,) but by our most affectionate and earnest letter, interpose us at your hands, to stay any harder usage of them for that cause; requesting you most earnestly that, for our cause and intercession, it may please you to let them be relieved of their present straits, and whatsoever further accusation or pursuit is depending on that ground, respecting both their former merit in setting forth the evangel, the simplicity of their consciences in this defence, which cannot well be, their let by compulsion, and the great slander which could not fail to fall out upon their further striving for

any such occasion. Which we assure us your zeal for religion, besides the expectation we have of your good will to please us, will readily accord with our request, having given such proofs from time to time of a like disposition to you in any matter which you recommend unto us. And thus right excellent, right high and mighty Princess, our dear Sister and Cousin, we commit you to God's protection. From Edinburgh, June 12, 1591."*

This letter failed of any further effect than the many previous appeals that had been made on behalf of the prisoners; but such was the strong feeling excited on their behalf that the question of subscriptions and the *ex officio* oath was taken up in the House of Commons, to the great indignation of the Queen, who demanded of them how they dared to meddle either with matters of state or causes ecclesiastical; and the most active promoter of a bill for their abolition, was committed a prisoner to Tutbury Castle, from whence he did not obtain his release for two years.

"Cartwright and his fellow-prisoners, after being confined upwards of a year, petitioned the council to be released on bail; but the archbishop refused his concurrence, unless they signed a submission expressly renouncing their opinions, and condemning their ecclesiastical assemblies as unlawful and seditious. This they declined, and applied to Lord Burleigh in a letter, dated March 1, 1591-2, requesting him to procure their release without such conditions as the archbishop required. 'We were bold,' they say, 'in the time of your lordship's sickness (which we have in diverse respects great cause to be sorry

* Fuller, b. ix. p. 203, 204.

for), by our wives, to send our petitions to his grace of Canterbury, the copy whereof we have here inclosed. By him we were directed to Mr. Attorney General, as to one of whom we were to receive the cautions and conditions of our deliverance; which it pleaseth his grace to term by the name of our *submission.* Which message was grievous unto us; as that which seemed to impose upon us a confession of guilt in the things we are charged with. . . . . . . Now, therefore, we come in most humble suit unto your lordship, that it would please you, as hithertowards, so now, in the shutting up of the matter, to stand our good lord, that we may have bail, without further drawing upon us such conditions, as his grace's answer giveth us cause to suspect, until such time as it shall please their honours to call for us. For if our liberty be tied to such conditions as we cannot undergo, unless we would say otherwise than is truth, and burden our own consciences before the Lord, your lordship may easily see, in the experience of our refusal of the oath *ex officio*, for which we have endured so long and so heavy imprisonment, that we shall be so far from the peace, into the hope whereof we are, by your lordship's honourable means, and most comfortable answer given unto our wives, lately brought, that our bonds thereby will grow more heavy and hard than before. . . . . . . If we had transgressed some of the laws of the land, whereof our consciences, set in the presence of God, do not accuse us; yet, seeing it plainly appeareth by our own answer upon oath, and by the depositions of witnesses, both on her Majesty's and our behalf, that we had special care in our meetings to keep ourselves in obedience to the laws, our transgression

therein being of ignorance, may in honourable equity find the easier pardon. And although our transgression had been more grievous, we leave unto your lordship's honourable consideration, whether our so long and heavy imprisonment, being laid in balance with our fault, may not seem proportionable thereunto. There have been, since we came to prison, diverse Papists, known enemies of the state, of this church and commonwealth, delivered, without revocation of any error of theirs. And it is universally granted to any, either Papist or schismatic, that upon promise of coming unto the church, they may enjoy the same freedom that others of her Majesty's subjects do. Our hope is, therefore, that we (which not only ourselves come to church, but labour to the utmost, both to entertain men in the fellowship of the church, and to reduce others estranged from it) shall not be more hardly dealt with than they, by enforcing any confessions or submissions, not standing with the testimony of our consciences. But this unto your lordship is, as in the proverb, γλαῦκες εἰς 'Αθήνας. Which is able to speak more for us in this behalf, than we for ourselves. Yet is there fallen out of late, which maketh us the bolder to importune your lordship. For it hath pleased the Almighty to visit some four or five of us, by reason of our long imprisonment and lack of convenient air, whereof some are both sore and dangerously sick; neither can the rest look for better, unless, by speedy deliverance, we meet with the mischief through the remedy, which this time of the year especially offereth.'

"Failing in these applications, they drew up a petition to the Queen, dated April, 1592, setting forth their reasons for refusing the oath required by the commissioners,

and defending themselves from the charges under which they suffered. Referring to the charge of schism, they say: 'We acknowledge unfeignedly, as in the sight of God, that this our church, as it is by your Highness's laws and authority established among us, having that faith professed and taught publicly in it that was agreed of in the convocation holden in the year 1562, and such form of public prayers and administration of the sacraments as in the first year of your most gracious reign was established (notwithstanding any thing that may need to be revised and further reformed), to be a true, visible church of Christ; from the holy communion whereof, by way of schism, it is not lawful to depart. Our own life may show the evident proof hereof; for always, before the time of our trouble, we have lived in the daily communion of it, not only as private men, but at the time of our restraint (as many years before) preached and exercised our ministry in the same, and at this present most earnestly beseech all in authority that is set over us, especially your excellent Majesty, that we may so proceed to serve God and your Highness all the days of our life.'

"We know not what impression this letter made on the Queen, nor how much longer the writers of it were detained in prison. There is reason to suppose that some months elapsed before Whitgift could be induced to consent to their release, on a general promise of good conduct. 'This prelate,' says Fuller, 'reflecting on his (Cartwright's) abilities, and their ancient acquaintance in Trinity College; and remembering (as an honourable adversary) they had brandished pens one against another, and considering that both of them now were well stricken

in years, and (some will say) fearing the success in so tough a conflict, on Mr. Cartwright's general promise to be quiet, procured his dismission out of the Star Chamber and prison wherein he was confined.' The earliest of Cartwright's biographers gives a somewhat different account. His narrative serves at least to prevent our entertaining any very exalted notion of the Archbishop's generosity. 'Yet was he,' says Clarke, 'with divers other of the Non-conformists, brought into the High Commission Court, where, for refusal of the oath *ex officio*, they were clapt up in prison, and afterwards proceeded against in the Star Chamber; but it pleased God so to order it by his providence, that those very witnesses which were brought to accuse them, did so clear them, that they were dismissed, and sent home much more honoured and beloved than they were before.'"

There can be little doubt indeed that Cartwright and his fellow-sufferers, had very slight reason for entertaining any sentiments of gratitude towards Archbishop Whitgift, who appears to have only consented to their release when he could no longer retain them in durance without the risk of coming into collision with the Lord Treasurer and others of the most eminent advisers of the Queen.

CHAPTER XV.

CONCLUSION.

'THE troubles of Cartwright did not altogether cease on his release from the fleet, though he was not again sub

jected to the same rigorous restraints and persecution. His health had been greatly impaired by his long exposure to the privations and sufferings incident to his tedious confinement in the dungeons of the prison, and his constitution no doubt received such a shock from these results of his unjust imprisonment, as tended to shorten his days. It was not, however, alone from bodily afflictions and failing health, that his sufferings arose, after his release from the fleet. His persecutors had done him too great wrongs not to be prepared to regard him with suspicion, as one likely to sympathise in any movement that threatened their overthrow, and we accordingly find that an attempt was made to implicate Cart wright in the very first outbreak that occured after his release. The occasion of this was an insane plot, conducted by some wild fanatics, with equally little premeditation and judgment. It happened that Coppinger, one of the conspirators, had addressed a letter to Cartwright on some indifferent subject, and without the slightest allusion to the conspiracy in which he afterwards bore a part. So little preparation indeed had preceded the outbreak that it is possible the conspirators themselves had formed no idea of such a project at the time of Coppinger's writing to Cartwright. A very slight account of their proceedings, at any rate, will suffice to satisfy the impartial reader of the gross injustice of the odium attached to the Puritans for their supposed participation in them, or their connivance at the projected movements. "To render," says Neale, "the Puritans odious to the public, all enthusiasts without distinction were ranked among them; even Hacket and his two prophets Arbing-

ton and Coppinger. Hacket was a blasphemous, ignorant wretch, who could not so much as read; he pretended to be King Jesus, and to set up his empire in the room of the Queen's, who (he said) was no longer to be Queen of England. He defaced her Majesty's arms, and stabbed her picture through with his dagger, in the house where he lodged. Being apprehended and put upon the rack, he confessed everything they would have him, and upon his trial pleaded guilty, declaring he was moved thereunto by the Spirit; he was hanged July 18th, and died raving like a madman. Coppinger starved himself in prison, but Arbington lived to recover his senses, and was pardoned. Dr. Nicholas says, that by the solicitations of these men the Puritans stirred up the people to rebellion, their design being communicated to Cartwright, Egerton, and Wiggington; whereas there was not a single Puritan concerned with them. Fuller the historian speaks candidly of the matter: 'This business of Hacket (says he) happened unseasonably for the Presbyterians; true it is, they as cordially detested his blasphemies as any of the Episcopal party; and such of them as loved Hacket the non-conformist, abhored Hacket the heretic, after he had mounted to so high a pitch of impiety.' However, Mr. Cartwright wrote an apology for himself and his brethren against the aspersions of Dr. Sutcliff, in which he declares, he had never seen Hacket nor Arbington, nor ever had any conference with them by letter or message."

This he entitled, "A Briefe Apologie against all such slanderous Accusations as it pleaseth M. Sutcliff, in his Phamphlettes most injuriously to load him with." This slanderous adversary was Dr. Matthew Sutcliff, Dean of

Exeter, a bitter and unscrupulous opponent, to whose pen most of the injurious imputations attempted to be cast on Cartwright's character may be traced. He replied to this defence reiterating the charges, but the opinion already quoted from Fuller, who was a more learned, and a no less zealous churchman, is the best answer to such unscrupulous pertinacity in slander.

Of this period of Cartwright's life, his affectionate biographer, Mr. Brook, remarks:—"He retired to his hospital and occasioned no further uneasiness. He had come to an age when this world was gliding into another. His future days were spent in acquiring and strengthening those habits which alone were fitted for eternity. His old antagonist was also hastening to his long home, who, having concurred in his release, lived on terms of friendship with him. Another writer, applauding the lenity and kindness of the Archbishop, relates that Mr. Cartwright, after his release from prison, often repaired to his grace, who treated him kindly, and, for several years, *tolerated* his preaching at Warwick! Will it not be asked, What can exhibit more grievous assumption than one man claiming the power of tolerating another to preach the gospel, since Jesus Christ gave his command, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.'

"It is admitted that, in later times, men in power tolerate the religion of their fellow men—tolerate them to believe the gospel—tolerate them to obey the instructions of the Bible—tolerate them to worship God! What is this but tolerating God to receive their service? May they not, with no clearer absurdity, tolerate the sun to shine, or the world to exist? The fact, however, can neither be

concealed, nor too well understood, that the elements composing Christian churches, and those composing civil communities, can never be amalgamated without invading the Saviour's authority, degrading His institutions, subverting His administration, and endangering men's eternal interests! Whitgift's toleration was an ecclesiastical permit, by which he assumed the power of allowing, and, consequently, of forbidding men to preach the gospel, in defiance of the Saviour's express command. This was a frightful embargo on the diffusion of Christianity; and every true Protestant may wonder that so mischievous a power was ever allowed to exist in the open gaze of an insulted world. It is extremely obvious, however, that Mr. Cartwright discovered that zeal in the cause of Christ which formed a striking contrast with the age in which he lived; and his assiduity in pastoral and ministerial duties rendered him an object of perpetual jealousy and dislike to those in power. When, therefore, the Queen understood that he was restored to his ministry, though he conducted himself with unexceptionable propriety, her Majesty refused her allowance of his preaching without subscription; and it is added that her Majesty was exceedingly displeased with the Archbishop for his connivance!

"Elizabeth, on this occasion, exhibited her dominant character, and, as supreme ecclesiastical governess, showed her displeasure against the highest officer in her church for a single act of toleration not in accordance with her sovereign will. This arbitrary princess, on this occasion, refused to be instructed by her servant the Archbishop; but, in numerous instances, she authoritatively instructed

him, and all his right reverend brethren. In the case before us, though Mr. Cartwright had scrupulously observed the conditions on which he was restored to his liberty and his ministry, and had enjoyed the connivance of the primate several years, yet this potent lady interposed her royal power, and, by an act of her unbounded prerogative, reversed what he had done. By this schismatical despotism she commanded her servants, the bishops, to depose Mr. Cartwright, and, being suspended from preaching in the churches, he preached in the hospital, where the prelates had no legal jurisdiction, and where multitudes flocked to hear him, for which they were prosecuted in the bishops' courts."

The same writer adds the following high commendation of the subject of this biography, in commenting on his passive resistance to the established authorities of his age:—"Mr. Cartwright proved himself a peaceable and loyal subject, yielding passive, when he could not yield active, obedience. To his great honour he not only advocated but also recognised in his own practice, the noble principle of refusing to obey the commands of men when they opposed the commands of God. He was too scrupulous to obey the unrighteous injunctions of men in direct violation of the word of God. When, therefore, he was arraigned before his earthly judges, and forbidden to preach in the name of Jesus, his unanswerable defence, like that of the apostles, was, that he 'ought to obey God rather than men.' When the bishops required subscription of Mr. Cartwright, did they not demand that obedience and submission which Jesus Christ and his apostles never required? And, by suspending him from his beloved

ministry, to which God had called him, did they not assume a power which God never gave to man? did they not supersede the Saviour's administration? did they not subvert the birthright of his servant? Mr. Cartwright had consecrated himself to the ministry of Christ, which was a solemn transaction between his soul and God, and which no power on earth could dissolve. His motto was that of the apostle, 'Woe be unto me, if I preach not the gospel!' This was an affair which no earthly power could counteract or disturb, without fighting against God as as well as against man."*

The venerable disciple, whose sufferings, more than a load of years, were weighing him down to the grave, was not to be permitted to finish his course in peace, at his hospital at Warwick. The imperious Queen exceeded even his old adversary in the severity of her persecution; and Cartwright was once more denied the privilege of preaching the gospel to his humble flock. Thus compelled once more to abandon his pulpit, he accepted an invitation to return to the scene of some of his labours during a former period of exile, and proceeded to the island of Guernsey, where he met with a friendly reception and hospitable entertainment from Lord Zouch, the governor of the island. It is not known how long he staid; but there is reason to believe he laboured there as a faithful minister of the gospel for several years, and saw good reason before he left it for believing that his labours had not been in vain. During the period of his abode there, Lord Zouch was succeeded as governor by Sir Thomas Leighton, but this produced no change in his position. He was honoured by the chief

* Brook's Life of Cartwright, p. 433.

men of the island, and beloved by all the people; and it seems not improbable that these few years thus spent among this simple people were the happiest and most peaceful of his whole life. Some time, it is believed, in the year 1598, Cartwright bade farewell to his kind friends and his attached flock at Castle-cornet, in Guernsey, and returned to his charge at Warwick, where he enjoyed undisturbed peace during the remaining years of his life, unless from the sufferings incident to a diseased and feeble frame. He died there suddenly on the 27th of December, 1603, having preached on the previous Sabbath his last and most appropriate concluding sermon from the text: "Then shall the dust return to the earth, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it." It has not unfitly been denominated his own funeral sermon. His pilgrimage was drawing to a close, his warfare was accomplished, his victory nigh won, and the aged servant of Christ doubtless looked forward to his Master's summons as to the welcome discharge of the veteran soldier from the toilsome and hard-fought campaign. The grave had lost all its terrors to him. Its sting was gone; its mastery all conquered; and it was only as the resting-place of the frail tabernacle that he regarded it;—the kindred dust, whose kindly embrace should welcome the decaying flesh to its keeping, there to hold it in trust till the archangel's summons shall bid earth and sea give up their dead. Precious in God's sight are the death of his saints; and here was the aged servant, with his toilsome and long day's work all done, and ready for the instant summons that called him home to his rest—a whole eternity of rest.

Mr. Cartwright was in his sixty-eighth year when he died. He had well nigh accomplished the threescore years and ten, the allotted span of human life; and during that long period he had witnessed and borne his part in many memorable changes. His life comprehends a period embracing not a few of the most remarkable events in the whole history of England, and some, too, of no slight importance in the history of Europe. As the "Father of English Puritanism," he has left indelible traces of his ministry and actions on the pages of history. Born during the eventful reign of Henry VIII., educated under the milder rule of Edward, and schooled for endurance as a hardy confessor under the terrible sway of Mary, he commenced his public career on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and achieved his high honours, and endured his great and unmerited sufferings during her long reign. He survived, though only for a few months, the last representative of the Tudors, and probably was cheered and solaced in his last hours by the anticipation of favours and blessings that awaited the English Puritans from the Stuart king. He died happily too soon to be undeceived in the faith he could hardly fail to entertain in his royal patron King James. He had lived long enough to learn of the royal proclamation which summoned the leaders of English Puritanism to the conference at Hampton Court, and to comfort himself with the hopes by which so many others were deceived, that the pupil of Buchanan, and the ruler of Presbyterian Scotland, could hardly fail to bear with him to England ideas of toleration and religious liberty such as no English-born ruler had yet dreamt of.

It is not, however, our province to pursue these reflections, or to note how many and arduous were the struggles through which England had to fight her way to liberty and rest. Neither is it necessary to enlarge on the character of him whose biography is sketched in these preceding pages. His part was well done in the great struggle, and each reader will form for himself an estimation of his character. That his views of toleration and liberty of conscience were imperfect, we have distinctly shown, and that he was even prepared to deny to others the liberty he claimed for himself and his own party cannot be doubted. We have gone even farther than this, and questioned the justice of the position in which he first appears in antagonism to the conforming party, as a professor of divinity inculcating doctrines opposed to the established system of polity in the church, whose students were then committed to his charge. In all this, however, we shall do him a great injustice, if we insist on measuring him by the standard of our times. Compared with the men of his own day, and the standard of his own age, he stands forth as a man second to very few, and the rewards that followed the time-serving compliance of too many of his fellow students or early rivals at Cambridge, leave little room to doubt that high, even the highest honours of the church, might have been his, had he been equally ready to comply with the opinions of the Court. It is fortunate for his reputation no less than for his consistency of character, that the honours to which his great antagonist Whitgift attained, were not reserved for him. But it has been well remarked by Dr. Price: "It partakes as little of justice as of generosity, to trace with a

microscopic eye the imperfections of men, to whose patriotic exertions England is so deeply indebted." Let the good man rest in peace, and his memory be had in reverence by his people. "He has fought a good fight, he has finished his course, he has kept the faith; henceforth is laid up for him a crown of glory, which the Lord the righteous Judge will give him at that day."

Like other eminent men of the Puritan party, the contemporary records which we possess of Mr. Cartwright are few and imperfect, and he is oftener mentioned in the revilings of his opponents than in the narratives of his friends. His wife survived him, and some members of his family; and he is believed, notwithstanding his many privations, to have left them well provided for, owing not only to his own frugality, but to the generous sympathy and liberality of his friends.

If the authority of Chalmers, and the uncertain information of the writers to whom he refers, may be relied upon, the descendants of the father of English puritanism would appear to have soon forgot his uncompromising spirit, and his consistent example of conscientious nonconformity. Chalmers gives the following brief sketch of the life of Thomas Cartwright, bishop of Chester, believed to be the grandson of the great Puritan leader, in which a passing allusion occurs to the son of the latter. "Thomas Cartwright, bishop of Chester, was born at Northampton, September 1, 1634. His father was for some time master of the endowed school of Brentwood, in Essex, and he appears to have been educated in the religious principles which prevailed among the anti-episcopal party. He was entered of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, but

was soon removed to Queen's College by the power of the parliamentary visitors in 1649; and after taking orders, became chaplain of that college, and vicar of Walthamstow in Essex. In 1659, he was preacher at St. Mary Magdalen's, Fish Street. After the restoration, he recommended himself so powerfully by professions of loyalty, as to be made domestic chaplain to Henry Duke of Gloucester; prebendary of Twyford, in the church of St. Paul; of Chalford, in the church of Wells; a chaplain in ordinary to the King, and rector of St. Thomas Apostle. London; and was created D.D. although not of standing for it. To these, in 1672, was added a prebend of Durham; and in 1677, he was made dean of Rippon. He had likewise a hard struggle with Dr. Womack for the bishopric of St. David's; but in the reign of James II. in 1686, he succeeded to that of Chester, for boldly asserting in one of his sermons, that the King's promises to Parliament were not binding. The most remarkable event of his life, was his acting as one of the commissioners in the memorable attempt which his infatuated master made to control the president and fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, when they rejected a Popish president intruded upon them by the King. Upon the revolution he fled to France, where he officiated as minister to the Protestant part of the King's household; and upon the death of Dr. Seth Ward, became titular bishop of Salisbury. He afterwards accompanied the abdicated monarch to Ireland, where he died of a dysentery, April 15, 1689, and was sumptuously interred in the choir of Christ Church, Dublin. The report by Richardson, in his edition of Godwin, of his having died in the communion of the Church of Rome, seems

doubtful; but on his deathbed his expressions were certainly equivocal. His 'Speech spoken to the Society of Magdalen College,' his examination of Dr. Hough, and several occasional sermons, enumerated by Wood, are in print. He appears to have been a man too subservient to the will of James, to act with more prudence or principle than his master, who, it is said, looked upon him as neither Protestant nor Papist, and had little or no esteem for him."

It may not unreasonably be presumed to be owing to the defection of Cartwright's descendants from the principles for which their father had endured so much, that so little is known of them. Had a race of honest and pious Puritans survived like that of the happy family circle of Broad Oak,—the descendants of the good Philip Henry,—they would have made it a proud boast to trace their birth to the great Puritan confessor of Queen Elizabeth's reign. But the subservient adherent of the last of the Stuarts, whose sufferings were endured in the cause of a popish despot, and whose own faith was of so equivocal a character, was more likely to have destroyed all evidence of his Puritan origin than to have preserved the records and memorials of his pious ancestors.

CARTWRIGHT'S CONTEMPORARIES.

CARTWRIGHT'S CONTEMPORARIES.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

In the biography of Thomas Cartwright, "chief of the Non-conformists," as Fuller styles him, such a sketch has been given of the despotic character of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and of the unbending rule of minute conformity to every iota of the established ritual and formulas of the church, as must suffice to show that no ordinary amount of courage and conscientious conviction was requisite, to induce any man to brave the terrors of the law, and of the High Commission Court, in attempting to overthrow the favoured scheme of ecclesiastical polity. It was, indeed, a period in which the national character was being formed, and in which its institutions were moulding, under many unnoticed influences, into their permanent form. The previous incidents of English history affect only indirectly the character of Elizabeth's reign. She was the beginner of a new order of things, and while by her imperious will she stamped her own cast of mind on many of our national institutions, both she and the statesmen of her reign, did

far more to develope principles altogether antagonist to their own opinions and wishes.

It has been remarked with great force by a modern critic, when referring to the early history of English nonconformity:—"It is instructive to observe how much is done in the government of the world by the ignorance of men more than by their knowledge. What we do from design is of small amount compared with what we do beyond our forethought. In all our plans we prophesy in part. The action of to-day generates the action of to-morrow. The scheme widens as it advances from purpose towards accomplishment. The one thing intended, brings along with it a host of things not intended; and as our vision takes in a wider compass, consequences and contingencies are seen to multiply. One man creates the void, and another gives it occupancy. One agency unlocks the stream, and a multitude are in waiting to affect its course and issue. Evil comes from good, and good comes from evil. Thus mockery is cast over all human foresight. In this twilight of perception the greatest men have laboured,—Wycliffe and Luther, Columbus and Bacon. Much that was in their heart they have done, but much more which their heart never conceived have they accomplished. Being dead, they still speak, and they still act,—but the further the undulations of their influence extend, the less is the semblance between the things which are realized and the things which were expected. They have done less than they hoped, and more,—much that they would have done, and much that they would not have done. In short, in the providence of our world, enough is plain and fixed to give pulsation to virtue

and hope in the right-hearted; but enough is obscure and uncertain to rebuke impatience, and to suggest many a lesson of humility.

"It was the pleasure of Elizabeth, and of her successors James and Charles, to take upon them the office of the persecutor. In that honourable vocation they found coadjutors of suitable capacity and temper, in Whitgift, Bancroft, and Laud. The sovereign and the priest gave themselves to such employment, in the sagacious expectation that the opinions of men were matters to be shaped according to the royal pleasure, with little more difficulty than the order of a court ceremonial. But the policy intended to secure an abject submission at home, became the unwilling parent of an enlightened independence abroad. Intolerance of freedom forced it upon new experiments, and proved eminently favourable to its development and power. The seed cast out found a better lodgment, and sent forth a richer fruit. The new world afforded space for its germination and growth which the old could not have supplied; and the new world has reacted upon the old in the cause of freedom, as the old could not have acted upon itself. Even now, also, we are only in the beginning of that great outburst of enterprise and improvement which we trace to those memorable times, and in great part to the narrow and selfish policy of the agents above named.

"The mind of the people of England two centuries since teemed with thoughts and excitements, of which the men of our time have no just conception. Our knowledge in this respect must depend on the force of our imagination, hardly less than on the extent of our reading. The

great questions, both in politics and religion, which then agitated society, were comparative novelties. The wonders of the new world, and of the whole southern hemisphere, were discoveries of yesterday. National questions, accordingly, were debated with a degree of passionateness and earnestness, such as we seldom feel; while distant regions loomed before the fancies of men in alliance with every thing shadowy, strange, and mysterious. The old world seemed to be waking at their side, as from the sleep of ages; and a new world rose to their view, presenting treasures which seemed to be inexhaustible. The wonder of to-day was succeeded by the greater wonder of to-morrow, and the revelations seemed to have no end. At the same time, to very many, their native land had become as a house of bondage, and the waters of the Atlantic were the stream which separated between them and their promised home." *

In Queen Elizabeth's reign, however, the English Puritans had not learned to seek a refuge beyond the broad Atlantic. Providence had other things in store for England than that the advocates of liberty of conscience should escape to these distant wilds, and finding there the liberty they had contended for, should rear their altar in the wilderness, and leave their fellow-countrymen to forget that other opinions were maintained by English Protestants than those which Queen Elizabeth dictated to her subservient courtiers. When the fiery struggle in which they were engaged waxed too fierce to be withstood, they withdrew across the narrow channel that divides England from the Continent of Europe, and watch-

* Brit. Quarterly Review. vol. i. pp. 1, 2.

ing their time, they returned to renew the contest whenever opportunity offered. The exile who flies from persecution to the wild home of another hemisphere, and builds and plants in the far distant settlement, conscious of vast oceans intervening between him and the land of his birth, rarely dreams of forsaking his new home to return again to the land of strife and suffering. Even its many dear associations cease to allure with strong enough attractions to counterpoise the advantages and the charms of newer scenes and unchecked liberty. This peculiarity in the position of the earlier English Puritans sufficed to give a different aspect to their whole history and proceedings from that which characterises the Nonconformists of the Charles's reigns.

England was the arena of as strangely clashing diversity of sentiments as ever marked any period of national history, on the accession of Queen Elizabeth to her sister's throne, and probably no ruler ever ascended a throne more resolutely self-willed, and at the same time more pliant to the circumstances in which self interest was involved. Queen Elizabeth has been lauded by poet, historian, and churchman, as the great founder of English Protestantism, and yet the impartial student of English history can hardly fail to come to the conclusion, that little more was required to have reconciled her to the papal supremacy, than the perfect conviction that her interests and the safety of her throne were concerned in the adoption of such a step. Apart, indeed, from the uncompromising nature of religious convictions, and the unswerving guidance of conscience in the course of duty, the mere politician will find little difficulty in discovering that

Queen Elizabeth had a very delicate and difficult part to act on her ascending the throne. The hopes that her accession raised in the minds of the persecuted reformers were more than counterbalanced by the doubt and distrust with which she was viewed by the more powerful party whose opinions or interests bound them to the Church of Rome. It was a time, moreover, in which any middle course became peculiarly difficult. Both parties were composed of keen partizans, each resolute for no compromise with its opponents, and prepared to pronounce the judgment at once, "He that is not with us is against us." Some allowance, therefore, must be made for the Queen and for her cautious advisers, as well as for the total ignorance, by all parties, of the true principles of liberty of conscience, which we have endeavoured more than once to enforce upon the reader while tracing out the incidents of Cartwright's career. Above all, the candid reader, while making such allowances for that age as fallible and erring man ever requires in the judgment of his fellow men, will not fail to mark the evidences of an overruling providence, working out its own ends by the instrumentality of such diverse and apparently conflicting means.

Neal remarks, in his allusions to the earlier years of this reign:—"Queen Elizabeth's accession to the crown gave new life to the Reformation: as soon as it was known beyond sea most of the exiles returned home, and those who had hid themselves in the houses of their friends began to appear; but the public religion continued for a time in the same posture the Queen found it; the popish priests kept their livings, and went on celebrating mass. None

of the Protestant clergy who had been ejected in the last reign were restored; and orders were given against all innovations without public authority. Though the Queen had complied with the changes in her sister's reign, it was well known she was a favourer of the Reformation; but her Majesty proceeded with great caution, for fear of raising disturbances in her infant government. No prince ever came to the crown under greater disadvantages. The Pope had pronounced her illegitimate; upon which the Queen of Scots put in her claim to the crown. All the bishops and clergy of the present establishment were her declared enemies. The nation was at war with France, and the treasury exhausted; the Queen therefore, by the advice of her Privy Council, resolved to make peace with her neighbours as soon as possible, that she might be more at leisure to proceed in her intended alterations of religion, which, though very considerable, were not so entire as the best and most learned Protestants of these times desired. The Queen inherited the spirit of her father, and affected a great deal of magnificence in her devotions, as well as in her court. She was fond of many of the old rites and ceremonies in which she had been educated. She thought her brother had stripped religion too much of its ornaments, and made the doctrines of the church too narrow in some points. It was therefore with difficulty that she was prevailed on to go the length of King Edward's reformation.

"The only thing her Majesty did before the meeting of the Parliament, was to prevent pulpit disputes; for some of the reformed that had been preachers in King Edward's time, began to make use of his service-book without au-

thority or license from their superiors; this alarmed the popish clergy, and gave occasion to a proclamation, dated December 27, 1558, by which all preaching of ministers, or others, was prohibited; and the people were charged to hear no other doctrine or preaching but the epistle and gospel for the day, and the ten commandments in English, without any exposition or paraphrase whatsoever. The proclamation admits of the litany, the Lord's prayer, and the creed in English; but no public prayers were to be read in the church but such as were appointed by law, till the meeting of the Parliament, which was to be upon the 23d of January.

"While the exiles were preparing to return home, conciliatory letters passed between them: those of Geneva desired a mutual forgiveness, and prayed their brethren of Arrow, Basil, Frankfort, Strasburgh, and Worms, to unite with them in preaching God's word, and in endeavouring to obtain such a form of worship as they had seen practised in the best reformed churches. The others replied, that it would not be in their power to appoint what ceremonies should be observed; but they were determined to submit in things indifferent, and hoped those of Geneva would do so too; however, they would join with them in petitioning the Queen that nothing burthensome might be imposed. Both parties congratulated her Majesty's accession, in poems, addresses, and dedications of books; but they were reduced to the utmost poverty and distress. They came thread-bare home, bringing nothing with them (says Mr. Strype) but much experience, as well as learning. Those who could comply with the Queen's establishment were quickly preferred, but the rest were neglected,

and though suffered to preach in the churches for some time, they were afterwards suspended, and reduced to as great poverty as before.

"It had been happy if the sufferings of the exiles had taught them a little more charity and mutual forbearance; or that they had followed the advice of their learned friends and patrons beyond sea, who advised them to go through with the reformation, and clear the church of all the relics of Popery and superstition at once. This was the advice of Gualter, one of the chief divines of Zurich, who, in his letter to Dr. Masters, the Queen's physician, January 16, 1559, wishes, 'that the reformers among us would not hearken to the counsels of those men, who, when they saw that Popery could not be honestly defended, nor entirely retained, would use all artifices to have the outward face of religion to remain mixed, uncertain, and doubtful; so that while an evangelical reformation is pretended, those things should be obtruded on the church which will make the returning back to Popery, superstition, and idolatry, very easy. We have had the experience of this (says he) for some years in Germany, and know what influence such persons may have: their counsels seem, to a carnal judgment, to be full of modesty, and well fitted for carrying on an universal agreement; and we may well believe the common enemy of our salvation will find out proper instruments, by whose means the seeds of Popery may still remain among you. I apprehend, that in the first beginnings, while men may study to avoid the giving some small offence, many things may be suffered under this colour, that they will be continued but for a little while, and yet afterwards it will scarce be

possible by all the endeavours that can be used to get them removed, at least not without great strugglings.' The letter seems to be written with a prophetic spirit; Masters laid it before the Queen, who read it all over, though without effect. Letters of the same strain were written by the learned Bullinger, Peter Martyr, and Weidner, to the Earl of Bedford, who had been some time at Zurich; and to Jewel, Sandys, Horn, Cox, Grindal, and the rest of the late exiles, pressing them vehemently to act with zeal and courage, and to take care in the first beginnings to have all things settled upon sure and sound foundations. The exiles in their answers seem resolved to follow their advices, and make a bold stand for a thorough reformation; and if they had done so, they might have obtained it."

It may well be doubted, however, whether any amount of boldness or perseverance could have obtained such a "thorough Reformation" as that which the Continental divines desired. By a singular concurrence of circumstances, the Scottish reformers, though later in achieving their reformation than those of England, had been able to carry it much farther. The Lords of the Congregation, as the popularly elected leaders of the Scottish ecclesiastical movement were styled, began their labours during the minority of Queen Mary, while the reins of government were held by her mother, a daughter of the house of Guise. On her death, the hapless young Queen of Scotland entered on the duties of a throne, for which her education at the French court had ill prepared her; and when she was at length compelled to abdicate the throne, her nominal successor was an infant, during whose pupilage

the reforming party held sole control over the Government, and established that "co-ordinate jurisdiction" of the Church and the State, which has been since, again and again, contended for by the Scottish Church.

It was this co-ordinate jurisdiction of the Church and the State which the most zealous of the early reformers undoubtedly aimed at, and to which the Continental divines referred when they spoke of a "thorough reformation." No boldness of front, however, or united persistency of demand, could have sufficed to place the English reformers in the same commanding position which an unwonted concurrence of political events had sufficed to produce for those of Scotland, or which the peculiar circumstances of some of the small states of Germany and Switzerland admitted of. Queen Elizabeth was the inheritor of a despotic throne, and the inheritor also of a spirit altogether inclined for its occupancy with unrelaxing severity. She watched with the most sensitive jealousy, not only the ancient and unchallenged prerogatives of the Crown, but also those new and unwonted privileges, in which she might be said to be the successor of the Pope. Henry VIII. overthrew papal supremacy, not as a liberator to free his people from its burdens and trammels, but as a conqueror to assume it to himself; and in no point did Queen Elizabeth so readily and heartily depart from the example of her elder sister, as in the reassumption of all those spoils of Rome, which Queen Mary had hastened to lay at the feet of the Sovereign Pontiff.

The diversity of opinions maintained by different writers even in our own day, are not less extreme and violent than were the parties with whom they originated. We

have referred to the opinions of the Puritans' partial historian in reference to the earlier years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, in contrast to these the reader may peruse the remarks of one of the most zealous of modern defenders of the High Church party, on the same period. Mr. Henry Soames, the author of "Elizabethan Religious History," remarks, in narrating the origin of Protestant Nonconformity :—"To the ability of Elizabeth's civil policy, ample justice has been done. Her ecclesiastical government has been less fortunate; although under it arose the religious parties, ever since in active collision. Their germs, indeed, belong to earlier times. Romanists long reckoned upon Trent for silencing Protestant objections to their church. The reformers were unanimous in little more than in resisting papal usurpation, and renouncing unwritten tradition as an authority for articles of faith. Within these landmarks was left a wide field of debateable ground, in which stirring spirits were continually marking and occupying new positions. Religious views being thus imperfectly developed, many thought Protestant and Romish differences likely to be merged, without much difficulty or delay, in one harmonious whole. As this expectation weakened, complete union among Protestants was yet a cherished aim. When, however, the two parties had minutely canvassed opinions and sharpened animosities, England and Rome were found irreconcileably at variance. Elements also were gradually detected in English Protestantism, defying fusion into an homogeneous mass.

"Elizabeth lived among these attempts and discoveries. Religious uniformity was her deliberate aim, and every

year made it more hopeless. In spite of strenuous exertions, three great religious parties became distinctly marked and widely separated. Of such commanding national divisions, the first steps are both interesting and instructive. Yet facilities for tracing them are not generally available. Nonconformity, both Romish and Protestant, has, indeed, been sufficiently alive to the importance of this reign. Each has blazoned a picture of oppression with zeal and effect; unhappily, too, with considerable truth. The church has not been served with equal attention to public opinion. Means are needed of adequate yet moderate extent, for duly contemplating not one only, but all the three great religious parties, as they actually rose. Without such convenient opportunities the bulk of men cannot judge accurately of the national society, as now existing.

"The Queen's earliest years properly belong to the History of the Reformation. Until the Thirty-nine Articles were legally settled, Romanism could hardly be considered as completely and hopelessly overthrown. Even then, the national mind was only prepared for striking out new channels. Individuals, more or less disregarded, took time to recover from the mortification of discomfiture before they banded together into distinguishable sections. The Romish party, when completely formed, remained unaffected by the Queen's death. It soon indulged in little more than hope of favourable treatment under her successor. Not so the discontented Protestants. They reckoned still upon a command over the establishment, and until disappointed at the Hampton Court Conference, did not settle down into a hostile

aggregate of sects. Thus the history of religious party under Elizabeth properly begins a few years after her accession, and extends to the blighting of Puritanical hopes within the first year of James. It opens with a church just provided with authentic terms of communion, and closes with a new settlement of that body, after a formal collision with her more dangerous opponent.

"The whole period embraces forty-one years. The first of these are important rather than interesting to a modern reader. He would hardly care for a strife about some few externals, were it not the first storing of that fuel which fed eventually so many raging fires." *

Thus does the jealous defendant of the ecclesiastical policy of Elizabeth speak of that "strife about some few externals," which proved the first step in so great a movement, but which appears to him so insignificant, and so narrow-minded in its origin. It were folly, indeed, to imagine that concession on the disputed points of vestments and ceremonies would have secured any system of absolute uniformity, but it would undoubtedly have rendered the party of dissentients insignificant in number and weight; it would have secured a gradual change, by means of which the controversies that have sprung up under various guises in every succeeding age between these rival parties might have been greatly modified; and it might have averted the terrible collision of a later reign, in which the author of the Paradise Lost took so active a share, and to the origin of which he may be supposed in part to have glanced back to, as he witnessed

* Soames's Elizabethan Religious Hist p. 2.

that "limbo large and broad," to which all foolish things were whirled—

> Then might ye see
> Cowls, hoods, and habits, with their wearers, tost
> And fluttered into rags!

But the author of the "Elizabethan Religious History" affords, perhaps, better evidence of the just foundations for the jealousy of the early Puritans than will be found so directly acknowledged elsewhere, in the reason he assigns for the conformity of the Romanists. A papal party, he remarks, arose during the later years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, as much from hatred of its rulers, as from the force of inveterate prepossessions. "To render such a party needless, by satisfying reasonable expectations, was one reason for adopting Edward's reformation. But it was not the only reason. Romish prejudice, it is true, seems to have pervaded two thirds of the nation. This majority, however, was far less considerable for intellect than for numbers, hence it was justly, necessarily, called upon for extensive concessions. Of the more intellectual minority, a large portion had no other wish than to see restored the system that Queen Mary overthrew. It had not only stood the test of many learned inquiries, but also a crowd of martyrs had sealed it with their blood. Even at this time it is impossible to think of these self-devoted victims without feeling them to have stamped a holy and venerable character upon the Edwardian church. But Elizabeth came to the throne among their acquaintances and relatives. Thousands of anecdotes now lost, must have then embalmed their memories in every part of England. To depart from a system that had come off so gloriously, naturally appeared something like sacrilege to many

judicious minds. It was a system also dear both to the Queen and the primate, and each of them had large claims upon Protestants from important services. If Elizabeth had embraced Romish principles, many of her difficulties, both at home and abroad would have immediately vanished. Her actual determination was the greatest advantage ever yet gained by the Protestant cause. But although willing thus to disoblige a majority of her own subjects, and to incur serious risks from foreign states, she was partial to many of the religious usages in which she had been bred. The pomp and ceremony of Romish worship were agreeable to her taste. Hence the royal chapel, though it stood alone, long and repeatedly exhibited, to the scandal of many zealous Protestants, but greatly to the satisfaction of all with Romish prejudices, an altar, decorated with crucifix and lights. Archbishop Parker was, probably, far less fond of such imposing externals than his royal mistress, though he hesitated at first as to the expediency of retaining crosses. Having, indeed, concealed himself at home during the Marian persecution, he had never seen Protestantism under any other form than that which it wore in Edward's reign. He had accordingly no thought of reconstructing a church upon some alleged reference to Scripture merely—a principle hitherto unacknowledged by his countrymen. He was imbued with a deep veneration for antiquity, and had no further wish than to free the religious system, immemorially established, from blemishes detected by recent inquirers of undeniable competence. For this end he laboured with a patient industry, and a solidity of judgment which have rendered most important services to the Reformation.

The deliberate convictions of such a man could not fail of having great weight in the country, and they were justly entitled to it.

"There was also a party anxious for the establishment of Lutheranism. By deciding upon this, Elizabeth would have given extensive satisfaction in Germany, and many princes there would have gladly entered into close alliance with her for the defence of their common faith. An advantage so obvious occasioned some apprehension in Switzerland, where the confession of Augsburg was viewed as a badge of successful rivalry. Hence Bullinger, writing to Utenhovius, recommended Edward's reformation as one with which the pious were contented. No doubt he would have been better pleased with arrangements more Calvinistic, but he saw difficulties in the way almost insurmountable. He was, therefore, satisfied with such a settlement as should guard reformed principles in their full integrity, without giving a decided triumph to his German neighbours. None, however, who approved the Augustan confession were likely to feel any lasting disappointment from the adoption of Edward's reformation. Its episcopal polity, and respect for external forms, must inevitably gain upon their affections. Thus Elizabeth's religious choice was evidently well adapted for pleasing a large and important section of her Protestant subjects. For conciliating that party which formed a majority of the whole nation, its recommendations could hardly fail of proving eventually quite equal to those of Lutheranism, and they were greatly superior to such as the Swiss reformation offered.

"Viewed from the distance, accordingly, of Switzerland

and the Rhine, England's religious policy appeared unexceptionable and judicious. Among such as returned from asylums in those parts, a different feeling extensively prevailed. They had seen their own cherished opinions professed by petty societies of republicans, generally poor, none without a mercantile disposition to retrench public formalities, at once expensive and unproductive. Their Continental friends naturally lauded such simplicity, and as their own penury and exile arose from a church organised upon the opposite extreme, they could hardly miss a prejudice in favour of their hosts. In this, too, they were necessarily fortified by those Helvetic prepossessions which Bishop Hooper had brought home even in happier times. It is not surprising, therefore, that vestments and attire worn by their persecutors, should have offended most, if not all, of the Marian exiles, on their arrival in England. They found, however, their clerical countrymen retaining everywhere the surplice and the corner-cap: nor could they legally decline these peculiarities themselves on their acceptance of preferment. A spiritual charge, however, was anxiously desired by all the exiles, because the church taught no doctrines which they did not cordially approve. But many of them so abhorred the attire, statutably imposed upon their profession, that they ministered and appeared without it. At first no great notice was taken of these irregularities. The services of able reformers, probably, were considered well worth some connivance at such scruples. The Romish, Edwardian, and Lutheran parties, were not, however, likely to approve this forbearance. The first must have been seriously offended by it, because

objections to vestments and habits were advanced on grounds most insulting to the Papal Church. The propriety of distinguishing the clergy, both in their ministrations and ordinary intercourse, was not contested. Only established habits were painted as empoisoned, defiled, and desecrated by the Church of Rome. Her use, like that of Baal's priests, had rendered them accursed, the livery of Antichrist, which faithful ministers could not wear without infamy and peril. A government intent upon conciliating Romish prejudice, was driven to discourage this extravagance. Its farthest indulgence could not go beyond a temporary and unauthorised forbearance, in the hope that objections, at once unsubstantial and illiberal, would wither under neglect, and soon die away. Even this temporising policy must, however, have its limits. It was an advantage to zealots of the Romish party, who did not fail to represent Protestantism as effective only to unsettle; equally the bane of public tranquillity and spiritual safety."*

The legitimate inference from this is, that the conscientious scruples of the Protestant party were sacrificed in order to gain over the least conscientious of the Romish party. That this policy succeeded is abundantly proved from history. Hundreds of the priests who had celebrated mass during the Marian persecution, acknowledged the supremacy of Elizabeth, and conformed to the ritual she imposed, while their instructions retained the people in all their former ignorance and superstition.

The student of English history can hardly fail frequently to look back to this reign with unavailing regret.

* Soames's Elizabethan Religious History, p. 888

Elizabeth did, undoubtedly, avert some present difficulties by such temporising policy, but she sowed the seeds of far more insurmountable ones for her successors. The system of policy pursued by James I. completed what she had begun, and Charles I. reaped its bitter fruits. The *point at issue* has been thus happily expressed by a living poet, whose admiration of Queen Elizabeth, and of her policy, scarcely yields to that of the author of "The Book of the Church:"

> "For what contend the wise?—for nothing less
> Than that the soul, freed from the bonds of sense,
> And to her God restored by evidence
> Of things not seen, drawn forth from their recess,
> Root there, and not in forms, her holiness:—
> For Faith, which to the patriarchs did dispense
> Sure guidance, ere a ceremonial fence
> Was needful round men thirsting to transgress;—
> For faith, more perfect still, with which the Lord
> Of all, himself a Spirit, in the youth
> Of Christian aspiration, deigned to fill
> The temples of their hearts who, with his word
> Informed, were resolute to do his will,
> And worship him in spirit and in truth."

CHAPTER II.

WILCOCKS AND FIELD.

We have already referred in passing, to the contemporaries of Cartwright, as their names have occured from time to time in the course of our biographical sketch of that eminent Nonconformist. Some of them, however, deserve a more elaborate notice, and would indeed merit a far more minute history of their lives than it is in the power of the modern biographer to produce. Contemporary

notices are slight and partial in the extreme, and their history has only been sought for by the piety or the curiosity of later generations. The change indeed that has come over the popular mind in this respect is striking. The name of Puritan has ceased to be one of reproach,—nay, has become the honoured epithet of a political and a religious party whose opinions daily win increasing favour in our own day. "Our ancient Puritan Reformers," exclaims Carlyle, in reference to the Nonconformists of a later period, "were, as all reformers that will ever much benefit this earth are always, inspired by a heavenly purpose. To see God's own law, then universally acknowledged for complete, as it stood in the holy written book, made good in this world; to see this, or the true unwearied aim towards this; it was a thing worth living for and dying for! Eternal justice; that God's will be done on earth as it is in heaven."* Such is the style in which the despised confessors of these ages of strife and suffering are now spoken of. The changed tone indicates a great progression in public opinion and habit of thought; nevertheless there is some truth in the critic's remarks, when he exclaims:—"In art there is a manifest relation between distance and the picturesque. Objects to appear beautiful must not be too near. Subject them to the microscope, and their very nature will seem to change. Throw over them the wash, the shadow, the comparative obscurity which are natural to things distant, and the sublimity or loveliness which belong to their general appearance become only more prominent and impressive. But this law has its place in the moral world no less than in the

* Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. i. p. 121.

natural. Men rarely judge with the same impartiality about the immediate and the remote. Many who have done honour to the tombs of the prophets would have joined in stoning them had they lived in the age of the prophets. Many who now build monuments to reformers, would have sent them to the stake had their lot been cast amidst the strifes of the Reformation. Time works mighty changes in this respect. The sacrilege of one age becomes the piety of the next. The treason of the fathers becomes the patriotism of the children. Some men can be just to contemporary mind, numerous as may be the lesser faults which come out as the consequences of too near an inspection; but the multitude must see events in the perspective and shadowyness of the long past before they can do them worship."* Certain it is that of some of the men that did and suffered so much in the cause of liberty of conscience, little other record now exists than the garbled and partial records of their iniquitous prosecutions before the unjust tribunals which were made the instruments of such cruel wrongs.

Thomas Wilcocks, an eminent Puritan Divine, whose name has been already mentioned as one of the most active among the early Nonconformists of Queen Elizabeth's reign, was born, it is believed, in the year 1549, and, after pursuing the usual preparatory course of study, entered as a student of St. John's College, Oxford, where he completed his education and took the honorary degree of Master of Arts. The information that has been preserved regarding his earlier years is of a very meager and uncertain description. This, however, appears, that soon after leav-

* British Quarterly Review, vol. iii. p. 61.

ing the University, he proceeded to London, where he was chosen as the minister of a church in Honey Lane, and speedily attained great popularity and favour as a learned, zealous, and useful preacher.

About the same time another learned divine, named John Field, who has acquired eminence by his conscientious sufferings as a Nonconformist confessor, pursued his studies at college with equally high promise of success. The information regarding the latter divine, however, is even more meager and imperfect than that we possess of his companion in suffering. The name of Field is of frequent occurrence at that period, and several of the same Christian and surnames studied at the universities and took orders in the church, so that it has become nearly impossible for the biographers of a later period to unravel the confusion of names and dates, which none but his own more intimate contemporaries could have successfully effected. This, however, is certain, that he also was a student of Oxford University, and it is probable it may have been in these years of youthful hope and high aspirations, that the two students of Oxford discovered that congeniality of taste, strong love of liberty, and free exercise of thought, which afterwards led to their community in sufferings, and to their names being linked together in the records of the Puritan fathers of England.

The evidences of John Field's success as a student while at the university are of the most satisfactory nature. After pursuing his studies for the usual period, he obtained his degree of Master of Arts, and was soon after elected a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. From

thence he proceeded to London, and he is mentioned by Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienis*, as having become a famous preacher at St. Giles's Cripplegate, London. This has been called in question by later writers. Of his proceeding to London, however, no doubt exists. He was afterwards minister of Aldermary Church in the City; and here he must have met with Thomas Wilcocks, whose acquaintance we have supposed may have been first acquired at college. Whatever was the beginning of their intercourse it had undoubtedly become latterly of a most intimate character, implying a very lively feeling of mutual sympathy, and earnest conscientious convictions, in reference to the great questions of ecclesiastical polity that were then so keenly agitating men's minds.

We have already referred to the uncompromising spirit of Queen Elizabeth's government, and the absolute dictation of every minutiæ of the whole ecclesiastical system and formulas, which she assumed as belonging to her alone. The Puritans in vain appealed to the government and the bishops for some relaxation of their rigid formulas, and some modifications of the ritual and discipline of the church, which they were unanimous in regarding as standing in need of reform. When such repeated applications had been found altogether unavailing, these resolute contenders for liberty of conscience threw themselves on their rights as Englishmen, and determined to trust their appeal to Parliament, resting it on the acknowledged forms and principles of the English Constitution. In these days of free and daily access to Parliament, by means of petition and address, on every grievance or desired reform, such a resolution may appear to the unre-

flecting, as a matter little worthy of note to us. It forms, however, one of the most memorable acts of the people during that whole reign, and the first step in establishing the freedom of Parliaments, from whence we date all the liberty we now enjoy. Queen Elizabeth was imperious and her Parliaments were timid and subservient. It is also worthy of note in tracing the history of popular rights that she was economical even to a fault in her government; content to receive, but rarely thinking of bestowing pecuniary favours. By this means she escaped the most frequent cause of contention with popular assemblies, and the effectual source that embarrassed James, and compelled Charles to summon Parliaments who became his masters. The sole fruit of this first appeal to popular rights against the unrelenting enforcement of the will of the Crown, was the proof that the Parliament was ignorant of its rights, and the crown confident in its power. Nevertheless it sufficed as a first step in the great movement, and honour be to the men, who, at the risk of personal suffering and sacrifice, gave the initiative to so noble a cause.

It is curious to observe how very different an aspect such movements assume, even in the estimation of living writers, according to the opinions and the prejudices by which they are influenced. The following is the narrative of this most interesting portion of the early history of English Parliaments, furnished by the historian of Protestant Nonconformity:—"In the parliament which met, April 1571, a strong disposition to complete the reformation of the church was evinced. Soon after the commencement of the session, 'Mr. Strickland, a grave and ancient man, of great zeal,' introduced the subject in a

temperate speech, in which he avowed his conviction that there were some things superstitious in the Book of Common Prayer. 'He spake at large of the abuses of the Church of England and of the churchmen; as, first, that known Papists are admitted to have ecclesiastical government and great livings; that godly, honest, and learned Protestants have little or nothing; that boys are dispensed with to have spiritual promotions; that by friendship with the master of the faculties, either unable men are qualified, or some one man allowed to have too many several livings; finally, he concluded with petition, that, by authority of the House, some convenient number of them might be assigned to have conference with the Lords of the Spirituality, for consideration and reformation of the matters by him remembered.' He proceeded a few days afterwards to introduce a bill for the reformation of the Book of Common Prayer, which was opposed by the Queen's ministers on the ground of its being an invasion of her prerogative. He succeeded, however, in having it read a first time. During the Easter recess he was called before the Lords of the Privy Council, and was commanded to refrain, during their pleasure, from attending on Parliament. This gave rise to an animated discussion in the Commons, in which may be traced the germ of that spirit which constituted the bulwark of English liberty in the subsequent reigns of James and Charles.

"Mr. Carleton signified to the House that one of their members was detained from them, 'by whose commandment, or for what cause, he knew not. But for as much as he was not now a private man, but to supply the room, person, and place of a multitude specially chosen, and

therefore sent, he thought that neither in regard of the country, which was not to be wronged, nor for the liberty of the House, which was not to be infringed, we should permit him to be detained from us.' Another member remarked, 'The precedent was perilous, and though in this happy time of lenity, among so good and honourable personages, under so gracious a prince, nothing of extremity or injury was to be feared; yet the times might be altered, and what now is permitted, hereafter might be construed as of duty, and enforced even on this ground of the present permission. That all matters not treason, or too much to the derogation of the imperial crown, were tolerable there, where all things came to be considered of, and where there was such fulness of power, as even the right of the Crown was to be determined. That to say the Parliament had no power to determine of the Crown, was high treason. He remembered how that men are not there for themselves, but for their countries. That it was fit for princes to have their prerogatives; but yet the same to be straitened within reasonable limits. The prince could not of herself make laws, neither might she by the same reason break laws. That the speech uttered in that place, and the offer made of the bill, were not to be condemned as evil; for that if there were any thing in the Book of Common Prayer, either Jewish, Turkish, or Popish, the same was to be reformed.' The result of the discussion was, that Mr. Strickland was permitted to resume his place, and that the House showed an increased determination to proceed in measures of ecclesiastical reform. Various other bills were introduced, amongst which was one to enforce the articles of religion agreed

on in the convocation of 1562. Some of these respected the ceremonies of the church and the ecclesiastical supremacy vested in the Crown. To these the Puritan party opposed themselves, and their influence was sufficiently powerful to confine the sanction of Parliament to such of the articles as pertained to matters of faith. The statute of 13 Eliz., c. 12, accordingly enacts, that every priest or minister shall subscribe to all the articles of religion which *only* concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, comprised in a book entitled 'Articles whereupon it was agreed,' &c. That this limitation was introduced with design, is placed beyond doubt by a remarkable conversation which Mr. Wentworth, one of the committee appointed by the Commons to wait on the archbishop, represents to have taken place between himself and the primate. Speaking in the session of 1575, on behalf of the liberties of Parliament, he severely reflects on the dignitaries of the church, as the great hinderance of its reformation. 'I have heard of old Parliament men,' he says, 'that the banishment of the Pope and Popery, and the restoring of true religion, had their beginning from this House, and not from the bishops; and I have heard that few laws for religion had their foundation from them; and I do surely think, before God I speak it, that the bishops were the cause of that doleful message (from the Queen), and I will show you what moveth me so to think. I was, amongst others, the last Parliament, sent unto the Bishop of Canterbury, for the articles of religion that then passed this House. He asked us why we did put out of the book the articles for the homilies, consecrating of bishops, and such like?

Surely, sir, said I, because we were so occupied in other matters, that we had no time to examine them, how they agreed with the word of God. What, said he, surely you mistook the matter, you will refer yourselves wholly to us therein. No, by the faith I bear to God, said I, we will pass nothing before we know what it is; for that were but to make you popes. Make you popes who list, said I, for we will make you none. And sure, Mr. Speaker, the speech seemed to me to be a pope-like speech, and I fear lest our bishops do attribute this of the Pope's canons unto themselves, *Papa non potest errare;* for surely if they did not, they would reform things amiss, and not spurn against God's people for writing therein as they do; but I can tell them news, they do but kick against the pricks, for undoubtedly they both have and do err, and God will reveal his truth, maugre the hearts of them and all his enemies, for great is the truth, and it will prevail.'"*

Here we see the English Commons awakening to a sense of their just rights, and basing the liberty of speech and the privileges of Parliament on the rights of conscience and the interests of religion. Wentworth was no unworthy predecessor of those who at a later period withstood the encroachments of Charles on the rights of the people, and won for us the liberty we enjoy. Such language, however, was rarely heard in parliaments of Elizabeth or James, and was regarded by these claimants of absolute power, as a licentious encroachment on the prerogatives of the Crown. Mr. Wentworth was looked upon by the more subservient and courtly commoners, as having altogether exceeded the constitutional limits of freedom

* Price's History of Nonconformity, vol. i. p. 225

of speech, and he was accordingly committed to the custody of the searjeant of the House, charged with being guilty of unbecoming reflections on her Majesty. His courage, however, appears to have been fully equal to the occasion, he boldly defended himself before a committee of the House appointed to examine him. "I do thank the Lord my God," said he, "that I never found fear in myself to give the Queen's Majesty warning to avoid her danger. Be you all afraid thereof if you will, for I praise God I am not, and I hope never to live to see that day; and yet I will assure your honours that twenty times and more, when I walked in my grounds, revolving this speech to prepare against this day, my own fearful conceit did say unto me that this speech would carry me to the place whither I shall now go, and fear would have moved me to have put it out; then I weighed whether in good conscience, and the duty of a faithful subject, I might keep myself out of prison, and not warn my prince from walking in a dangerous course; my conscience said unto me, that I could not be a faithful subject, if I did more respect to avoid my own danger than my prince's danger; herewithall I was made bold, and went forward as your honours heard: yet when I uttered these words in the house, that there was none without fault, no, not our noble Queen; I paused, and beheld all your countenances, and saw plainly that those words did amaze you all. Then I was afraid with you for company, and fear bade me to put out those words that followed, for your countenances did assure me that not one of you would stay me of my journey; yet the consideration of a good conscience and of a faithful subject did make me bold to utter it

in such sort as your honours heard. With this heart and mind I spake it, and I praise God for it; and if it were to do again, I would with the same mind speak it again." *

It will probably gratify the reader to compare the account of this interesting passage of parliamentary history, as given by the modern Nonconformist, with the following remarks on the same occurrence by the author of "Elizabethan Religious History." "In the House of Commons Cartwright's principles rapidly gained a commanding position. A new Parliament met on the second of April, and its popular branch was found strongly impregnated with religious discontent. The lead was taken by an aged gentleman, named Strickland, whose fiery temper and energetic spirit had bidden defiance to the damping power of accumulated years. In its general tenor he admitted that the Book of Common Prayer made very near approaches to unquestionable truth, and he did not overlook Romish reproaches upon Protestant mutability. But he charged the English offices with some superstitions and errors irreconcileable with genuine religion; and he argued that his objections involved no substantial change. He had prepared a bill to abrogate the sign of a cross in baptism, kneeling at the communion, and other usages obnoxious to the Puritans. In urging this case he likewise recommended, that a profession of faith should be prepared, after the example of foreign churches, and confirmed by Parliament. This portion of his speech was not unreasonable, for the articles of religion could plead only synodical and royal authority. The

* D'Ewes's Journals of Parliament, p. 243.

Queen's interference had hitherto deprived them of legislative sanction. Strickland also moved that Cranmer's book, now usually known as the *Reformato Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, be laid before the House for its ratification. Many of the members were willing to co-operate in carrying his propositions. But Elizabeth felt as acutely upon questions of the supremacy as if she had been bred in the Vatican. She no sooner heard of these encroachments upon her claims to ecclesiastical privileges, than the bold mover was ordered to attend before the Privy Council, and to refrain from entering the House of Commons. Even those days were not sufficiently servile for such a breach of privilege, and a serious disposition to resentment was only suppressed by the opportune removal of the sequestered member's restraint. On returning to his place he was immediately chosen on a committe. Court influence, however, was exerted successfully against most of his projected innovations.

"To disregard the House altogether was neither becoming nor prudent. and it was gratified by a formal conference at Lambeth with the bishops. The committee attending there seems to have brought a draught for the desired profession of faith. A paper was presented, which embodied most of the Thirty-nine Articles, but omitted those which approved the homilies and the hierarchy. The Archbishop demanded an explanation of this. He was answered with some warmth by a member named Peter Wentworth, 'It is because our urgent calls to other business have not allowed us time to examine how far these articles agree with God's word.' Parker said, 'Surely ye will refer yourselves therein wholly to us.'

Wentworth rejoined, 'Nay, by the faith I bear to God, we will pass nothing before we understand what it is. For that were to make you popes. Make you popes who list; we will make you none.'

"To allay these heats, Elizabeth relaxed some of her pretensions to supremacy, and a sort of compromise was adopted. *An act*, passed, *for Ministers of the Church to be of Sound Religion*, enjoined subscription before the bishop by all clergymen then beneficed, but questionably ordained, to such of the articles of 1562 as ONLY *concern the profession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments.* Thus the articles received at length statutable authority, and ordinations, conducted neither by King Edward's Ordinal, nor by that now in force, were formally recognised. This appears to have been chiefly meant for the case of incumbents in Romish orders, which some Protestant zealots denounced as anti-christian and invalid. But it might apply, in favourable hands, to the foreign ordinations, without Episcopal intervention, from which some ecclesiastics of puritanical principles drew their ministerial character. Hence it could hardly fail of proving a concession to the low-church party. Nor was the limitation of enforced subscription to the doctrinal articles otherwise than a half compliance with their demand for an authenticated confession of faith. All these appear to have been admitted by the Commons. It was only discipline which occasioned clamour out of doors, and which the members professed themselves unable hitherto to test by a sufficient examination."

It might amuse, on a less serious subject, to mark the different language by which the same actors and events

are characterised by these contemporary writers. Mr. Strickland, whom the one characterises in the language of the old Parliamentary reporter, as "a grave and ancient man of great zeal," becomes with the other "an aged gentleman, whose fiery temper and energetic spirit had bidden defiance to the damping power of accumulating years." This portion of the paliamentary history of England is interesting to us here, as having paved the way for the bold interference of Field and Wilcocks, the two friends and fellow students of Oxford, whom we have selected as the most prominent among the contemporaries of Cartwright, and this the more so, because the publication of their joint "Admonition," which forms the most memorable incident in their history, brought them into intimate contact with the Nonconformist leader, and exercised considerable influence on his own course of procedure.

CHAPTER III.

THE ADMONITION.

The proceedings of the Parliament in 1571, and the active steps taken by the court to put a stop to the liberty of discussion, and to put down the claims of the Puritan party in the church, sufficed to show the latter how little ground they could have for any hope of redress either from the Queen or the bishops. The discovery of the false basis of a long-cherished hope has often led to new and still bolder exertions for achieving the desired object. "The Puritans," says Neal, "finding it in vain

to hope for a reformation from the Queen or bishops, resolved for the future to apply to Parliament, and stand by the constitution. For this purpose they made interest among the members, and compiled a treatise, setting forth their chief grievances in one view. It was drawn up by the Reverend Mr. Field, minister of Aldermary, London, assisted by Mr. Wilcocks, and was revised by several of the brethren. It was entitled *An Admonition to the Parliament.*" *

Archbishop Bancroft says, in reference to the same assembly of the Puritans, "Certain persons assembled themselves privately together in London, as I have been informed, namely Gilbye, Sampson, Lever, Field, Wilcocks, and I wot not who besides. And then it was agreed upon, as it seemeth, that an admonition, (which the now Lord Archbishop of Canterbury did afterwards confute,) should be compiled and offered unto Parliament." †

It required no ordinary measure of courage to take such a step after the proceedings that had been adopted by the court against those who ventured to advocate any reform of the ecclesiastical establishment during the previous session of parliament. The resolute bearing and the high ground assumed by these assertors of the necessity for some decided changes in the character of the Church of England as remodeled under the guidance of Queen Elizabeth, is manifested in the very name of this publication. It is not styled a petition or an address, but an *admonition.* It marks indeed an important era in the history of England, in which Protestant dissent stood

* Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. i. p 252.

† Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline, p. 2.

forth and boldly demanded of the Government and Parliament to listen to its remonstrances, and grant its reasonable claims. Petition, and the humble expression of their cravings for some relaxation of their most burdensome grievances, were felt by them to be no longer of any avail. "The hour," says Hallam, "for liberal concessions had been suffered to pass away; the Archbishop's intolerant temper had taught men to question the authority that oppressed them, till the battle was no longer to be fought for a tippet and a surplice, but for the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy, interwoven as it was with the temporal constitution of England." *

But this era is still more memorable as that of the first direct, though unconscious movement, towards the union of these claimants for liberty of conscience with the assertors of civil rights. It was indeed their own liberty of conscience that they battled for, and not that wide embracing toleration which a later age has laid claim to with a view to the enactment of equal justice to all. Nevertheless they did contend for liberty, and faced dangers and endured sufferings, rather than wrong their consciences and forfeit their just rights by a compliance with the arbitrary demands, and the rigid uniformity, even in the minutiæ of posture and dress, which the hierarchy sought to enforce on all. It was, says Price, "The earliest steps towards the union of the Puritans and the patriots—the advocates of spiritual freedom, and the defenders of civil liberty," very different, however, is the opinion expressed by the high-church historian, in reviewing the same Admonition. "Before the legislature met," says Soames,

* Hallam's Constitutional Hist. vol i. p. 252.

"a party of Puritan ministers concocted privately, in London, an address to both Houses, containing a full developement of their views and wishes. Whether the intention was to offer this important document to Parliament, or only to circulate it as an authentic declaration of Puritanical sentiments, cannot now be ascertained. But it never came before the members in their corporate capacity. The world knew nothing of it until the prorogation. It then appeared in the shape of a phamplet, or perhaps more properly, of two phamplets, entitled, 'An Admonition to the Parliament,' first and second. The very title was thought by some to savour of presumption: petition seeming to become the framers rather than admonition. The whole piece, however, breathes a spirit of intolerant, sarcastic, and haughty defiance, which ill becomes religious advocates. It is, indeed, often such as serious men hardly could pen, unless galled by unwonted pecuniary pressure. Irritation from this cause may unquestionably be pleaded for the Admonition. Its authors, mentioning themselves as poor men, bitterly play upon the words, by adding, whom they, the ecclesiastical authorities namely, have made poor. They seek to fortify their opinion by the authority of Beza, to whom they had evidently applied at the outset of their undertaking. He sent a letter to some great man in England, most probably Leicester, in contemplation of a parliament, shortly to be holden, and expected to enter upon religious questions. This epistle was published with the Admonition, as was one of Gualter's to Bishop Parkhurst. Beza's communication maintains that pure doctrine is of little use without pure discipline; in plain language, that England must be

studded with petty democratic oligarchies, half clerical, half lay, like Geneva."

That these controversialists wrote with some bitterness cannot be denied. It is the usual characteristic of ecclesiastical controversies, and in this case there were not lacking additional causes to account for, if not to justify pretty strong language in enforcing their declaration ot grievances. Mr. Soames furnishes an analysis of it, in which such salient points are sufficiently strongly brought out. Nevertheless those who think its vehemence shows some want of prudence, may perhaps acknowledge that it gave all the more evidence of undaunted courage; for men who entered upon the field of controversy in opposition to established authorities, had need to weigh well the cost ere they committed themselves to the cause, in an age when the writer of a phamphlet against an alliance by the Queen with a Roman Catholic Prince, whose suit was rejected, was adjudged to loose his right hand, and subjected besides to long imprisonment and heavy penalties, for having ventured to express any opinion on so high a matter.

In the preface to the Admonition, the authors thus address their readers:—"Two treatises ye have here ensuing, beloved in Christ, which ye must read without partiality or blind affection. For, otherwise, you shall neither see their meaning, nor refrain yourselves from rashly condemning of them without just cause. For, certain men there are of great countenance, which will not lightly like of them, because they principally concern their persons and unjust dealings; whose credit is great, and whose friends are many: we mean the lordly lords,

archbishops, bishops, suffragans, deans, university doctors, and bachelors of divinity, archdeacons, chancellors, and the rest of that proud generation, whose kingdom must down, hold they never so hard; because their tyrannous lordship cannot stand with Christ's kingdom. And it is the special mischief of our English church, and the chief cause of backwardness, and of all breach and dissension. For they whose authority is forbidden by Christ, will have their stroke without their fellow-servants; yea, though ungraciously, cruelly, and pope-like, they take upon them to beat them, and that for their own childish articles, being for the most part against the manifest truth of God. First, by experience, their rigour hath too plainly appeared ever since their wicked reign, and specially for the space of these five or six years last. . . . . . But, in a few words, to say what we mean, either must we have a right ministry of God, and a right government of his church, according to the Scripture, set up, (both which we lack,) or else there can be no right religion, nor yet for contempt thereof can God's plagues be from us any while deferred. And, therefore, though they link in together, and slanderously charge poor men (whom they have made poor) with grievous faults, calling them Puritans, worse than donatists, exasperating and setting on such as be in authority against them, having hitherto miserably handled them with revilings, deprivations, imprisonments, banishments, and such like extremities, yet is these poor men's cause never the worse, nor these challengers the better, nor God's hand the farther off to link in with his against them."

The whole tenor of this address to Parliament amply

bears out Hallam's remark, that the period had gone by when a few timely concessions on unimportant questions of formulas and habits would have satisfied the rising party of English Nonconformists. It is not necessary to make any lengthened examination into the details of this important controversial publication, but one brief extract will suffice to illustrate the remarkable change in the demands of the Puritan party. "Neither is the controversy betwixt them and us," say the authors of the Admonition, "as they would bear the world in hand; as for a cap, a tippet, or a surplice; but for greater matters, concerning a true ministry and regiment of the church according to the word: which things once established, the other melt away of themselves. And yet consider, I pray you, whether their own argument doth not choke themselves, for even the very name of trifles doth plainly declare that they ought not to be maintained in Christ's church. And what shall our bishops win by it? forsooth that they be maintainers of trifles, and trifling bishops, consuming the greatest part of their time in those trifles, whereas they should be better occupied. We strive for true religion and government of the church, and show you the right way to throw out antichrist, both head and tail, and that we will not so much as communicate with the tail of the beast. But they, after they have thrust out antichrist by the head, go about to pull him in again by the tail, cunningly colouring it lest any man should espy his footsteps, as Cacus did when he stole the oxen!"

The Admonition excited immediate attention among all parties in England, and four editions were rapidly circulated, notwithstanding every effort made to suppress the

obnoxious work. Though the book, however, could neither be seized nor suppressed, its authors were within the reach of the law. The two divines chiefly engaged in drawing it up, Field and Wilcocks, were arrested and sent to Newgate, and the Lord Mayor and aldermen were commanded by the Archbishop and others of the ecclesiastical commissioners to use their utmost diligence to discover who were the printers and correctors of the press. Although they failed in laying hands on either of these, Mr. Thomas Woodcock, a London bookseller, was accused of selling the uncourtly publication, and he was accordingly arrested by Bishop Aylmer, and committed to Newgate nearly at the same time with its authors.

CHAPTER IV.

NEWGATE.

THE authors of the Admonition to Parliament had maintained that all compulsory enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline by the civil power was contrary to the spirit of Christianity, and a usurpation by the crown of the rights that belong alone to Christ as the head of his church. The commitment of them as close prisoners to Newgate, for asserting and maintaining their opinions, was little calculated to remove the objections thus entertained to such a course. The two prisoners were indicted and sentenced to suffer close imprisonment for a year. They were accordingly placed in close confinement, under circumstances of great severity. While there, they employed

their time in drawing up a vindication of themselves from the charges of maintaining unsound doctrine, and holding disloyal opinions regarding the Queen. This was published, and entitled, "A Copy of a Letter, with a Confession of Faith, written by two faithful servants of God, unto an honourable and virtuous Ladie." In this confession of faith, they give expression to their belief of the supreme authority of the Scripture in all questions of faith and doctrine, in the following words: "We hold that they alone ought to be preached, and the whole of them preached, and nothing kept back; and that it is not lawful for men, or for angels to add anything thereto, or take anything therefrom. And we affirm that no antiquity, custom, interpretation, or opinion of men, no, nor statute nor ordinance of any pope, council, parliament, or prince, may be set against the word of God."

It is, in fact, only an expansion of the rule of faith contained in the sixth article of the church: "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." But, in truth, these early Nonconformists had no quarrel with the doctrines maintained in the church's sound evangelical confessions, it was her discipline and hierarchical constitution that proved so great a stumbling-block to them.

While thus engaged in defending themselves against such unjust aspersions, they were frequently visited by Cartwright, and others of the Puritan divines, one of the results of which we have already narrated, in the drawing

up and publishing of the "Second Admonition," which was entirely penned by Cartwright, and excited a sensation in no way inferior to the first.

After the prisoners had lain upwards of two months in Newgate, Archbishop Parker sent Mr. Pearson his chaplain to converse with them, and to inquire into the nature of their complaints, as set forth in a petition which had been presented to the Archbishop on their behalf by the prisoners' wives. The following is the report of the conversation that ensued: it possesses considerable interest as a calm and dispassionate view of the objects at which the authors of the Admonition aimed :—

"*Pearson.* Is your name Wilcocks?

"*Wilcocks.* Yes, verily.

"*P.* I desire to become acquainted with you; for I know you not.

"*W.* Neither do I know you.

"*P.* I am come to converse with you, by warrant from my Lord of Canterbury.

"*W.* Indeed it is high time. I have been in close prison almost three months, and no one has yet been sent to confer with me, and reclaim me from error, if I be in any.

"*P.* I am come to you and your companion, Mr. Field, about a letter from you, delivered by your wives to his Grace of Canterbury; wherein you charge him with unjust dealing and cruelty. He would gladly know in what particular instance you can accuse him of injustice and cruelty.

"*Field.* To charge him with cruelty we mind not: neither did we write any such thing. But we may justly charge him with unjust dealing.

"*P.* Why so? What is the special cause of it?

"*W.* Because he hath kept us in close prison almost three months without a cause.

"*P.* I judge it is not so.

"*F.* We wrote a book in time of parliament, justly craving a redress and reformation of many abuses, for which we are thus imprisoned and uncourteously treated.

"*P.* That book I read over at the time of its first coming out; but since that time I have not read four lines of it. To speak my mind, though some things in it be good, I dare not justify all.

"*W.* What are the points which you so much dislike? Mention some, and we will gladly talk about them.

"*P.* So far as I can gather, you would have in the church an equality of ministers.

"*W.* We would not have it of ourselves; but God's word requireth it.

"*P.* No: God's word is against it.

"*F.* I pray you, let us see the place.

"*P.* Before I proceed, let me ask you one question. Do you both agree in this point? For, if you do not agree I shall labour in vain.

"*F.* We agree both in this point, and all others. For, the Lord's name be praised, there is no contrariety of judgment.

"*P.* You will allow of the name of a bishop?

"*W.* Yes, verily.

"*P.* And why so?

"*W.* Because God's word alloweth the same, in the ordinary government of the church.

"*P.* You will also allow the name of an apostle?

"*F.* In one respect we do, and in another respect we do not. As it signifieth one sent of God to preach the gospel, we allow it.

"*P.* And in what respect do you not allow it?

"*W.* As it signifieth one sent to preach to all creatures, it hath no place in the church.

"*P.* Why so?

"*W.* Because the calling of the Gentiles is ended, and that office was only temporary, enduring only for a season.

"*P.* I know many good writers are of your opinion. But how do you prove that from Scripture?

"*W.* Easily enough. It is Scripture itself.

"*P.* Let this be granted. Doth an equality of ministers, therefore, follow? St. Paul saith, God gave to his church some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors, and some teachers.

"*F.* That place maketh most for us, as, by the assistance of God, we hope to make evidently appear.

"*W.* Seeing we are dealing in matters which concern God's glory, and we cannot of ourselves speak to his praise, nor without the teaching of his Spirit, let us crave his divine assistance in the exercise of prayer.

"*P.* Will you use private or public prayer?

"*W.* Nay, in my judgment the more public the better."

Mr. Field having accordingly engaged in prayer, they resumed the conversation as follows:

"*W.* Now, if it please you, let us begin where we left off.

"*P.* From the words of Paul I reason thus: In his day there was a distinction of callings, therefore there can be no parity of ministers.

"*F.* That place of Paul proveth no such thing. For he there speaketh of those *extraordinary* offices which were peculiar to the state of the church in the time of the apostles, as apostles, prophets, and evangelists. Also he speaks of those offices which are *ordinary*, and to continue to the end of time, as pastors and teachers, which differ not in authority and dignity, though they may in gifts and graces.

"*P.* I understand your meaning. I perceive you will have no minister to preach out of his own charge.

"*F.* That is our opinion.

"*P.* And why so?

"*F.* Because every pastor hath work enough to take proper care of his own flock; therefore he needeth not to thrust himself upon another man's labour.

"*P.* It is not thrusting himself upon another, provided he cometh called.

"*F.* Indeed, if the minister hath nothing more to do than to preach a sermon or two a-week this might be pleaded; but seeing he must visit the sick, comfort the mourners, strengthen the weak, and admonish and instruct all from house to house, through the whole of his charge, I warrant you he will have little desire, and less leisure, to preach in other men's cures.

"*P.* It is said, in the acts of the apostles, that when the apostles laboured to appease the contention betwixt the Greeks and the Jews, deacons were chosen to provide for the poor that they might give themselves to prayer and the ministry of the word.

"*W.* That is not contrary to what my brother hath said, but serveth very aptly to confirm it; for there the

Holy Ghost includes their whole office in two particular duties. And if the apostles did well in communicating the temporal part of their office to others, that they might give themselves the more to prayer and preaching, what can we judge of those who unite civil functions to their ecclesiastical offices? But a wandering ministry is to be avoided, because it is an ignorant and unlearned ministry, the reformation of which, with the banishment of the Pope's canon law, we have particularly set forth in our late book. And because it is directly contrary both to reason and Scripture.

"*P.* I wish to hear that reason, and see that Scripture.

"*F.* You know that a father hath much regard to his children, because they are nearly related to him; so, on the same account hath a pastor for the children of his flock. And the Scripture saith, 'Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God. Feed the flock of God which is among you.'

"*P.* May I not then preach in other men's charges?

"*F.* Upon certain conditions you may.

"*P.* If I see the people lacking instruction, and out of compassion preach to them, do you think I do evil?

"*F.* It is not for us to condemn another man's servant; to his own master he standeth or falleth. Yet you will do well to take heed to your own calling. But having your own flock, and intermeddling with other men's charges, which God hath not commanded, you do not well. If, indeed, there be a defection among the churches, either in faith or practice, and God stir you up by an ex-

traordinary calling, though you preach in other places, I condemn you not.

"*P.* What are the reasons why I may not come into another man's charge?

"*W.* If our church were so reformed, that there was a learned and painful ministry, with a godly sincerity in every congregation, then, with a view to end a controversy, confirm a doctrine, or refute an error, you might preach in another man's charge: yet you might not do this unless you were requested by the minister and seniority of the church, and permitted by your own.

"*P.* You seem to have written your book in choler against some persons, rather than to promote a reformation of the church.

"*W.* I suppose you are displeased with the sharpness of the language. We are willing to bear the blame of that.

"*P.* I think it did not proceed from a spirit of love, and charity, and meekness.

"*F.* That toucheth me, and therefore I answer; as God hath his Moses, so he hath his Elijah. Isaiah called the rulers of his time, princes of Sodom. John calleth the scribes and pharisees, a generation of vipers. Jesus Christ calleth them adders, and an adulterous generation. And the Scriptures, especially the prophets, are full of such warm expressions. We have used gentle words too long: we perceive they have done no good. The wound is become desperate; it therefore needeth a strong corrosive. It is no time to flatter men in their sins. Yet God knoweth, we meant to speak against no man's *person*, but their *places*, and *existing corruptions*.

"*P.* Will you then take away all ecclesiastical policy? It pleaseth the prince, in policy, to make the ministers *lord bishops* and *archbishops*. I confess this cannot be warranted by God's word; but as the Christian magistrate, in policy, esteemeth it good, and not against God's word, I doubt whether they may not do it.

"*W.* We praise God for having made you confess this truth. But, from your words, we must consider whether the policy concerning ecclesiastical matters, as contained in God's word, be not all-sufficient and that alone which is to be followed. The ministers of Christ may take unto themselves no other titles than those which are allowed and appointed in God's word, though the Christian prince would, in policy, make them ever so liberal an offer of them.

"*F.* No. Though the prince would give them such offices and titles, they ought, according to the word of God, to refuse them.

"*P.* When in honour they are offered, would you have them wilfully and unthankfully to refuse them?

"*F.* Whenever the prince is so disposed, they, in the fear of God, should say, "A greater charge is already laid upon us than we are well able to fulfil. We cannot labour so faithfully in this function as the Lord requireth; therefore we most humbly desire your Majesty to lay the charge of civil matters upon those who have time and skill to manage them, and to whom in duty they belong, and let us exercise ourselves in the office of the ministry alone. No names can be more blasphemous than those of *lord bishops* and *archbishops*. They take that honour to them

selves which belongs to Jesus Christ alone, as lord and king in Zion.

"*P.* If for religion the prince appoint fasts, we ought not to obey, but if, in policy, when victuals are dear, he appoint them, we are bound, in conscience to obey.

"*F.* As you plead so much for policy, we suffer imprisonment for opposing the popish hierarchy, the policy of which is directly contrary to that which was used in the primitive church.

"*P.* Must we then in every point follow the apostles and primitive church?

"*W.* Yes; unless a better order can be found. In matters of government and discipline, the word of God is our only warrant, but rites and ceremonies not mentioned in Scripture are to be used or refused, as shall best appear to the edification of the church."

The object of this conversation appears to have been to ascertain whether the authors still adhered to their written opinions or were prepared to retract or modify them in any degree, in the hope of securing their liberty, or even some relaxation of the severities of their treatment in prison. There is something surely one-sided, to characterise it in the mildest terms, in the address of his grace's chaplain, who challenges the sharpness of the language used in the Admonition, expressing it as his mind that it did not proceed from a spirit of love, and charity, and meekness! There is something painfully harsh in the use of such an argument, when employed by the agent of the oppressors to those who were then experiencing the love and meekness of their opponents' spirits in the dun-

geons of Newgate and the severities and privations of a rigorous imprisonment.

CHAPTER V.

ROYAL MERCY.

No relaxation of the rigorous imprisonment of the authors of the Admonition followed in consequence of their interview with the archbishop's chaplain. After they had been confined in the same wretched prison for months, till their health was impaired, and their spirits gave way under their accumulated privations and sufferings, they petitioned the Earl of Leicester, the generous patron of Cartwright, to interfere in their behalf, and, at the least, procure their removal to another prison where they would be exposed to less cruel hardships than those which they had endured for months in the squalid cells of old Newgate. Their wives and children also drew up an earnest petition to the same nobleman, praying him to plead their cause with the Queen, and procure their liberation, and representing to him that they, the wives and children of these unfortunate victims of intolerance, were abandoned to premature widowhood and orphanage, and compelled to bear all the hardships of extreme poverty, in addition to their sufferings from witnessing what those who were their rightful protectors had to endure. If the Earl of Leicester did present this moving petition to the imperious Queen, it was altogether unavailing. After the unhappy sufferers had been the inmates

of Newgate for fifteen months, having been sentenced to a year's imprisonment after they had lain in prison fully three months previous to conviction, they found themselves at the expiry of this protracted period still unable to procure their release. They appealed to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, petitioned the Lords of the Council, and sought by every means in their power, to obtain the restitution of their liberty, but in vain. Had the ecclesiastical commissioners been inclined to lend a favourable ear to their supplications, little difficulty would have been found in securing their release. But they alone had any influence in such a matter, and even with them the Queen seemed better pleased to be called upon to sanction their harshest measures against the Puritan Nonconformists, than to approve of any extension of mercy or forbearance to these sufferers for conscience' sake.

The following petition, addressed by the prisoners to the Lords of the Council, shows by what stretch of legal formalities they were thus held in durance, after having suffered the full penalty awarded them for their bold remonstrance:—"Whereas, Right Honourable Lords, your poor and daily orators, John Field and Thomas Wilcocks, being indicted before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, in the city of London, upon a statute of the first year of her Majesty's most happy and gracious reign, entitled, 'An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer,' &c. were adjudged to suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole year, which they have already fully endured, according to the effect of the said statute. And now being given to understand, that they cannot be discharged otherwise than by a special order from your good Lordships, they

most humbly, and for Jesus Christ's sake, pray and beseech your honours, to take pity of their great poverty and extreme necessity, now come upon them and their poor wives and children, through their so long imprisonment. And that in your accustomed clemency, so graciously and continually extended towards all her Majesty's subjects, you will also vouchsafe, in compassion to their great misery, to take order for their enlargement. And as in duty they are bound, so they and theirs will daily pour out their hearty prayers to Almighty God, for his merciful favour, and most gracious protection, to be extended to your Lordships for ever. Amen."

It is to be borne in remembrance that, in their mistaken and misdirected zeal, the opponents of these Puritan remonstrants had outwitted themselves. Their persecution of the authors of the Admonition, and their attempts to suppress it, had only excited renewed inquiry, and induced a much more rapid and extensive sale of successive editions of the work. Doubtless on every additional evidence of this that appeared, a fresh sense of exasperation induced their baffled persecutors to visit on them these consequences of their work with increased severity. Dr. Whitgift's "Answer to the Admonition," had also appeared since their sentence was pronounced, and there that unsparing controversialist had held them forth as "disturbers of good order, enemies to the State, and maintainers of many dangerous heresies." All this was calculated to keep fresh the angry feelings of their judges, and induce them to view with regret the approach of the period that was to put an end to the captivity of the two sufferers.

The Lords of Council were in no hurry to issue the required order for the release of Field and Wilcocks, and they again had recourse to the noble and generous friend of the Nonconformists, the Earl of Leicester, to whom they addressed the following moving supplication for his interference on their behalf, beseeching him to use his influence with the Council to procure their release:—"This in all humility showeth unto your honour, that your poor and faithful orators, John Field and Thomas Wilcocks, upon October 2, 1572, by virtue of a certain statute made the first year of her Majesty's reign, were convicted and committed to prison, there to continue for the space of one whole year, and have now endured patiently all that time, besides a quarter of a year before conviction, to their great charge and utter undoing. May it, therefore, please your honour, for the tender mercies of God, and in consideration of them, their poor wives and children, to be a means with the rest of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, to whom they have exhibited their most humble supplication that they may be released and discharged, and as much as in your honour lieth, to promote and further the same. So they shall be greatly comforted, after this their tedious and long imprisonment; and they will not be unmindful to pray for your Lordship's great and continued prosperity."

Amid the moving incidents of this period of history, when so many important institutions were being framed under the unbending will of the Queen, or were springing unnoticed out of the collision of rival schemes of controversial confessions, no record appears to have been preserved of the delivery of these Puritan confessors from

their protracted imprisonment. There seems no doubt that they were detained till near the close of the year 1573. But somewhere about that period they were at length allowed to come forth from their miserable dungeon, and breathe once more the pure air, and see the light of heaven, from which they had been so long and so cruelly debarred.

CHAPTER VI.

WILCOCKS'S LATTER YEARS.

ALTHOUGH both Wilcocks and Field were at length delivered from the dungeons of Newgate, so far were their persecutors from being moved by their humble petitions, and declarations of loyalty and sound faith, to offer them any reparation for their cruel sufferings, that they were both deprived of their charges and cast loose on the world, dependent alone on the providence of God and the gener ous sympathy of Christian friends. Mr. Wilcocks being denied the privilege of labouring among his former congregation in Honey Lane, went about for a considerable time preaching as he found opportunity, though not without frequent interruptions and dangers. Some of the letters written by him during these years of uncertainty and privation have been preserved, and contain interesting references to the sufferings of his brethren during that trying period. One of his most favoured correspondents was the pious and learned Anthony Gilby, of Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire, one of the Protestant exiles

who escaped to Frankfort during the persecutions of Queen Mary. From thence he retired to Geneva, where he assisted Coverdale in his translation of the Bible. One of Wilcocks's letters to him bears the date of 21st December 1573, so that it must have been written very shortly after his release from Newgate. It is dated from Coventry, whither he had gone on finding himself altogether excluded from continuing his labours among his former congregation in London. The following is the letter, describing the oppressive acts of the Government against the Nonconformists in London,—most probably de tailing what he had witnessed ere he left the metropolis,—it is also curious from its allusion to the application of the epithet *Puritan* at that early period to the Nonconformists, both ministers and laymen, as a term of reproach:—

"Good Father Gilby, since my separation from you I have received letters from London, wherein was certified the stirs and troubles there. When I had read them, I thought it meet to make you partaker of such news as was sent unto me, to the end that you, and all the godly there with you, may pour forth earnest supplications for our brethren who are now in bonds, and under the cross, for the testimony of the truth. Thus standeth the case. Mr. Fulwer, our dear friend and brother in the Lord, with divers others, are prisoners in the same Compter, and for the same cause that our brother Edmunds is. Our brother Johnson, minister of the church without Temple-bar, and others with him, are laid in the Gatehouse at Westminster. Our brother Wight and others with him are committed to Newgate.

"The ministers of London were called by the archdea-

con and Dr. Hames, the bishop's chancellor, to Lawrence Church in the Jewry, and then subscribed, and were commanded to put on their trash; as surplices, &c. on the Sunday following. Among them, none had more deceived the godly than one Wager, who had many times been, but only in words, against the popish regimen and ceremonies retained and used in the English Church; but now by his subscription hath allowed all. The Lord grant that, as he hath fallen with Peter, and denied the truth, so he may, if it be his will, rise with him again. This subscription is required, not of ministers alone, but of the common people, such as they call *Puritans.* Scribbled in haste from Coventry, this 21st of December 1573.

"By yours to command in the Lord Jesus,

"THOMAS WILCOCKS."

Mr. Wilcocks was held in the highest estimation by the great body of Nonconformists, and when he was excluded from his regular labours as a minister of the gospel, his advice and instruction seem to have been anxiously sought for by means of a very extensive correspondence. Mr. Brook refers, in his "Lives of the Puritans," to a large folio volume of his manuscript letters, many of which were addressed to men of eminence. One of his intimate friends was Sir Peter Wentworth, the independent member of Parliament, who incurred the anger of Queen Elizabeth by his zeal for maintaining the privileges of the Parliament. The biographer of the Puritans remarks:— "Many of the letters written by Mr. Wilcocks were answers to cases of conscience. He was highly celebrated for his knowledge of casuistical divinity. Multitudes who applied to him under spiritual distress, obtained, through

the blessing of God, both peace and comfort. Most of his epistles were written particularly to promote family and personal religion among his numerous connexions."

From another of Mr. Wilcocks's letters to the correspondent formerly noticed, written on the 2d of February 1574, we find that he had again returned to London, and taken up his abode in his house in Coleman Street; the same, it may be presumed, which he had occupied before his imprisonment, and in which his family had continued to reside during these long and sorrowful months, as at this date he could not be much more than two months out of Newgate. The letter renews the notice of some of the suffering Nonconformists referred to in the previous one, and it is also interesting from its reference to the escape of Cartwright, when Bishop Sandys and other members of the High Commission issued a warrant for his apprehension, in consequence of the publication of his "Replye" to Whitgift. The letter is as follows:—

"Grace and peace from God.

"Father Gilby, news here is none good; for how may we look for good in these evil times? The Commissioners go forwards in their haughty proceedings: God, if it be his will, stay their rage. Three of them that they have imprisoned are dead already. What shall become of the rest the Lord knoweth. We here persuade ourselves of nothing but great extremity. The Lord grant us patience and strength in his truth for ever. The godly here desire your earnest prayers to the Lord for them, and heartily salute you in the Lord, especially my brother Edmunds, the Lord's prisoner, unto whom you promised, at my being with you, to write some letter of comfort.

Surely a letter from you to him would much encourage him in the ways of the Lord; and, therefore, I desire you at your convenient leisure to write somewhat as it shall please the Lord to move you.

"Dr. Whitgift's book is not yet come out, but we look for it daily. Our brother Cartwright is escaped, God be praised, and departed this land since my coming up to London, and, I hope, is by this time at Heidelberg. The Lord bless him, and direct him in all things by his Holy Spirit, that he may do that which may serve for the advancement of his glory, and the profit of his church. His earnest desire is, that you and all the godly should remember him in your earnest and hearty prayers; therefore, I the more boldly and willingly now make mention of him.

The Commissioners caused Beza's Confession, translated into English, to be burnt in Stationers' Hall, on Thursday the 28th of January last. The pretence was, that it was ill translated; but I suppose rather because it over plainly dissolveth the popish hierarchy, which they yet maintain. From my house in Coleman Street, this 2d of February, 1574. Yours assured in the Lord,

"THOMAS WILCOCKS."

We learn from one of Mr. Wilcocks's publications, entitled, "The Narration of a fearful Firo at Woburn in Bedfordshire," that he had been resident for some time in 1595, in the neighbourhood of that town. A considerable portion of his latter years was spent at Bovington in Hertfordshire. His death took place in the year 1605, when he was in the fifty-ninth year of his age. Notwithstanding the very active and decided steps taken by him

as a Nonconformist, he is described as a person of great moderation: "He acknowledged," says Mr. Brook, "the Church of England to be a true church, and her ministry to be a true ministry, but greatly encumbered with the superstitions and corruptions of Popery. He also occasionally attended the public service of the church, and was a divine of great learning and piety." He has, moreover, enjoyed the unwonted honour for a Puritan divine, of receiving the high commendations of Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, who speaks of him in flattering terms both as an author and a preacher, and commends his varied talents and private worth. The sacrifices which he made, and the great sufferings which he so patiently endured, are the best evidence of the sincerity of his convictions, and his conscientious fidelity to his own views of truth. Of his children no detailed account has been preserved, though the touching picture of the weeping family group appealing to the Archbishop, or described in the petitions to the Lords of the Council, gives an interest to them well calculated to create a lively desire for information as to their future career in life. One of his daughters, and the only one of whom we have discovered any notice, was married to Dr. John Burgess, who afterwards collected the expository writings of his father-in-law, and published them in one volume, folio, under the title of "The Works of the Reverend Divine, Mr. Thomas Wilcocks." Besides these he was the author of various original works, and of some valuable translations, which are referred to with high commendations by Antony à Wood. Among the former are included the two following works, somewhat unusual in their subjects: "An Answer to Banister the

Libertine," which was published in 1581, and, during the same year, under the following quaint title: "A Glass for Gamesters, or such as delight in Cards and Dice, wherein they may see not only the Vanity, but also the Vileness of those Plays, plainly discovered and overthrown by the Word of God."

CHAPTER VII.

FIELD'S LATTER YEARS.

THE history of the Admonition controversy and of the sufferings of the authors, forms a narrative of the last and most strenuous effort made by the Nonconformists in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to have the constitution and discipline of the Established Church modified so as to meet their peculiar views. But another important step was taken by them nearly at the same time, and in this also both Field and Wilcocks took an active part. This latter step was the formation of an independent Church, according to the Presbyterian model at which they were aiming. The place chosen for constituting the first English Presbytery was Wandsworth, near London, where Mr. Field was lecturer. Heylin, the historian of the Presbyterians, describes this locality as "a place conveniently situate for the London brethren, as standing near the bank of the Thames, but four miles from the city, and more retired and out of sight than any of their own churches about the town."* Here a Presbytery was

* History of the Presbyterians, p. 273.

erected, and a complete code of regulations adopted, under the title of "The Order of Wandsworth." Office-bearers were chosen according to the constitution of the church, and the names of all who adhered to the new church were recorded. "The principal parties in this affair," says Dr. Price, "were Mr. Field, the lecturer of Wandsworth, Mr. Smith of Mitcham, Mr. Crane of Roehampton, and Mr. Wilcocks; but others of considerable note soon joined them. They endeavoured to keep their meetings secret; but their number and frequency precluded the possibility of this, and soon exposed them to the vigilant rigour of the Archbishop." * This important and decided step of the Puritan Nonconformists, must have been adopted very shortly before the imprisonment of the authors of the First Admonition, and it is not improbable that the consultations preparatory to the drawing up and publishing of the Admonition, may have exercised considerable influence on this movement, if they were not indeed the sole source of its being proposed and carried into effect.

Mr. Field was no doubt liberated from Newgate at the same time as his fellow-sufferer Mr. Wilcocks. On his release he appears to have received an appointment as minister of Aldermary Church, London, and it is probable that he was allowed to continue there without great molestation for about three years. When that period had elapsed he was again subjected to new troubles, which suffice to show in some degree the restraints under which he had lain. In the year 1574, he was summoned before the Bishop of London, accused of obstinate persistence in contempt of the restrictions imposed on him by authority.

* Price's Hist. of Protestant Nonconformity, vol. i. p. 237.

The most definite charge produced against him was that of having instructed children in gentlemen's houses, contrary to the prohibitions of the Archbishop. From this it might be inferred that he had been entirely silenced, were it not for the difficulty of reconciling this with the fact of his having continued during previous years to officiate as the minister of Aldermary Church, though it is obvious from the tenor of the following petition, that it was a benefice dependent entirely on the voluntary contributions of the congregation. "Bishop Aylmer," says the biographer of the Puritans, "recommended that both Mr. Field and Mr. Wilcocks might be sent into the most barbarous parts of Staffordshire, Shropshire, Lancashire, or other places, where, his Lordship observed, they might be profitably employed in reclaiming people from the ignorance and errors of Popery.

"What the bishop recommended was undoubtedly a more moderate kind of punishment than close confinement from one year to another, in a filthy, cold prison; and was, indeed, exceedingly moderate for a prelate of his tyrannical principles. Accordingly, Mr. Field was silenced or separated from the people of his charge. The parishioners of Aldermary, at the same time, used every effort in their power to procure his restoration. They applied to the Archbishop, as well as to the Bishop of London, but without success. They also presented two supplications to the Earl of Leicester, being one of the council, to be a means of promoting his restoration.

"These supplications are now before me, in one of which they expressed themselves as follows:—'We, in most humble-wise, beseech your honour, that whereas of

late we did to our comfort enjoy one Mr. Field to be our preacher, who laboured painfully amongst us for the space of four years, in preaching the word of God, and catechising our youth, teaching obedience both to God and our prince, and keeping us in good order. Whereas since his restraint and inhibition, we are left as scattered sheep upon the mountains, and have none ordinarily to break unto us the bread of life, than which a greater evil cannot come upon us. Hearing that God of his great goodness hath made you the honoured instrument of restoring many, we, your humble suppliants, beseech you, even for the cause of God, to be a means also for us. We feel persuaded that, if the matter be fairly examined, there will be no cause found in him why he should be sequestered from us. For we are able to witness to your honour, even in the presence of Him who seeth all hearts, that to our knowledge he ever behaved himself wisely and faithfully, as became a true minister of Jesus Christ. The things urged against him were never hindered, impugned, or any way resisted by him, but were duly kept and observed. And seeing that which he received was out of our purses, without any burden upon the church whatever, we cannot help feeling ourselves hardly treated, that without cause he should be taken from us. We have used what means we could with the Archbishop and Bishop of London; but as we could learn of them no cause of his sequestration, so we could receive no favourable answer for his restoration. We beseech your honour, therefore, in behalf of ourselves, our wives, our children, and our servants, so to stand forth our good lord in this our necessary and holy suit, as that by your means, he

may be again restored. So shall many hearts be made glad; and we shall evermore pray for your honour's long and happy state. Your honour's poor suppliants ever to command, of the parish of Aldermary, in London.' " *

What the result of this earnest supplication was does not appear, but from what has been already shown as the usual treatment of similar petitions, on occasions more urgent and painful, there is little reason for thinking that Mr. Field was permitted to resume his labours among his attached people in the parish of Aldermary.

The next notice that occurs of him is after an interval of five years, when he is mentioned by Strype as engaged along with several other learned men, in the year 1582, in a disputation with some Roman Catholics confined in the Tower. It was a visit probably not unlike that which he himself received from the archbishop's chaplain, while himself a prisoner for conscience' sake, and it is much to be feared from the spirit of the age, and the declared opinions of his contemporaries and friends, that the Romish Nonconformists received no greater tenderness of treatment from these learned disputants than he and his fellow-sufferer in Newgate did from the more orthodox adherents to the established system of ecclesiastical discipline. This is rendered the more probable from the publications he has left on the subject. Mr. Brook remarks of this transaction: "He is said to have taken an active part in those learned disputations, and to have collected and published an account of them, after it had undergone the examination of the persons who engaged." The only work of his referrible to this subject, sufficiently

* Brook's Lives of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 322

shows the spirit in which this controversy was conducted: It is entitled :—"A Caveat for Parson Howlet, concerning his Untimelye Flighte, and Scriching in the clear Day Lighte of the Gospel, necessarie for him and all the rest of that Dark Brood and uncleane cage of Papists."

In the year 1584, Mr. Field again incurred the displeasure of the ecclesiastical rulers owing to an assembly of Nonconformist ministers at his house. It was no doubt such another Presbyterial assembly as was first convened under his direction at Wandsworth. Their notorious dislike to the Episcopal hierarchy was sufficient crime in the estimation of the authorities of that age, to subject all concerned in such a meeting to heavy pains and penalties. He was suspended from his ministry while many others were deprived for refusing the required test of subscription, and it is doubtful if he was again permitted to resume the ministerial office. He died in little more than two years after, in February 1587, and his remains were interred in Cripplegate Church, London. Besides the controversial work already referred to, Mr. Field was the author of several expository works, and executed translations from the works of Calvin and other eminent Continental divines. No record is preserved of his family, and the narrative of his labours and sufferings is scanty and imperfect; but their record is on high, with those who contended with him in the same arduous struggle,—he rests from his labours, and his works follow him.

CHAPTER VIII.

UDAL BEFORE THE HIGH COMMISSION.

JOHN UDAL, a divine eminent both for his learning and piety, is specially deserving of notice among the contemporaries of Cartwright, having been a fellow-sufferer with him, and a victim of the persecution in which the great Puritan leader bore a part. Among the many sufferers under the oppressive enforcement of uniformity in Queen Elizabeth's reign it has been the singular fortune of Udal to be selected, by the historian Hume, as a victim of the tyrannical statutes of that reign, whose "case seems singular even in those arbitrary times." The earliest notice we possess of this divine, presents him to us as a student at the University of Cambridge, where he acquired the character of "a man of excellent parts, great learning, and genuine piety." On completing his education there he was appointed the minister of Kingston-upon-Thames. There he continued to labour for seven years; but he appears to have been subject to frequent and violent interruptions. The faithfulness with which he discharged his duties as a minister of the gospel excited the animosity of some of his parishioners, who were offended at the uncompromising zeal with which he warned and admonished them of their persistence in open sin. At length some of his hearers were so indignant at the fidelity of his remonstrances, that they lodged a complaint against him for nonconformity, in consequence of which he was

silenced and committed to prison. There, however, he found zealous and powerful friends who showed him the kindest sympathy and used their influence to procure his release.

On the 26th of September 1586, he was brought before Dr. Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, and the Dean of Windsor, when a lengthened examination ensued, part of which we select as illustrative of the inquisitorial system of enforced oaths, which form so oppressive a feature in the proceedings of that arbitrary reign.

"*Bishop.* Mr. Udal, you are beholden to my Lady of Warwick. She hath been earnest for you, and telleth me. that you will submit yourself.

"*Udal.* I thank God for her ladyship's care. I am contented, and always have been, to submit to any thing that is just and godly.

"*B.* What you will do, I know not. Hitherto you have not done it; for you refused to swear according to law.

"*U.* By your honour's favour, I never refused to swear, so far as the law doth bind me.

"*B.* No! Wherefore then were you committed?

"*U.* You know best. I was contented to swear, if I might first see the articles.

"*B.* That is a slender foundation to stand upon.

"*U.* It is to me a matter of great importance. For with what conscience can I call the Lord to witness, and protest by his name, that I will answer I know not what?

"*Dean.* Mr. Udal, the things objected against you, I dare say, are against your doctrine, or your life, which are no secrets.

"*B.* Nay, they charge nothing against his life, but his doctrine only.

"*U.* The greater is the mercy of God towards me. For I have given the greater offence by my life; but it hath pleased him so to keep my sins from their sight, that I might suffer for his sake. Your restraining me from my ministry, makes the world believe that the slanders raised against me are true; the ignorant call in question the gospel which I have preached; and thus a door is widely opened for every wicked man to contemn the doctrine of our Saviour.

"Here," says the biographer of the Puritans in narrating this, "the Bishop laid all the blame on Mr. Udal, and discovered so hard a heart against the suffering church of God, that Mr. Udal burst into a flood of tears, and was constrained to turn aside, to weep for the space of half-an-hour. Upon his return, he was addressed as follows:

"*B.* Will you answer the articles charged against you, that these things may be redressed?

"*U.* If I may first see them, I shall be satisfied.

"*B.* Mr. Hartwell, write to the register to let him see them; then go with him to some of the commissioners to swear him.

"*U.* This will be a long course. I pray you, that, in the mean time, I may continue my ministry, for the good of the poor people.

"*B.* That you may not. Now that you are suspended, you must so abide, until you be cleared.

"*U.* Then, whatsoever becomes of me, I beseech you let the poor people have a preacher."

Mr. Udal having entered into further inquiries on the

subject, at length consented to be sworn, on the understanding that the oath should not bind him to answer further than it should appear to him the law required. He had accordingly a long series of articles submitted to him, including the charges which the malcontents of his parish had reported against him. To these he delivered in his answers in writing, and these were at once converted by his judges into evidence for the purpose of criminating him; an abuse of the forms of justice which stamps with indelible disgrace the judicial proceedings of that reign.

Udal was accordingly arraigned again before the High Commission, which assembled at Lambeth on the 17th of the following month, when the following examination ensued, proving by its tenor that the chief crime with which the prisoner was chargeable was his adherence to the views maintained by the leading Nonconformists of that reign.

"*Archbishop Whitgift.* You are not to judge, Mr. Udal, *who* walk disorderly; nor account any so to do, till it be proved.

"*Udal.* How shall I count him to do otherwise, who giveth himself up to notorious sins; and after being admonished, not only amendeth not, but goeth on more stubborn than before?

"*Bishop Cooper.* You must do more than that.

"*U.* You mean, we must present them; and so we have done several; but presentment is of no use.

"*A.* You must expect what will follow, and not appoint your own time.

"*U.* We may do this long enough before we see any redress, so long as things are managed thus. I have seen

malefactors presented two or three years ago, but of whose trials we have heard nothing.

"*A.* You say, Christ is the only archbishop. Why do you not call him arch-pastor and arch-shepherd?

"*U.* As I am at liberty to call the ministers of Christ by those titles given them by the Holy Ghost, as pastors, shepherds, and watchmen; so, I think, I may Jesus Christ.

"*A.* No, no; the archbishop was in your way, and it troubled you to think of him. But there will be an archbishop when you shall be no preacher at Kingston.

"*B. C.* The rest of that article is sophistical, or like Apollo the oracle.

"*U.* Perhaps I have taken some advantage of the words, and not answered according to the meaning thereof, as the law requireth.

"*A.* Those elders of which you speak were bishops, and not any other.

"*U.* In 1 Cor. xii. governors are mentioned as distinct from teachers.

"*A.* That is meant of *civil* governors, and not of a company of unlearned, simple men, as you would have it.

"*U.* The apostle there speaketh of those who were ordained in the church. But it is of no use to dispute these matters in this place.

"*A.* When you say, that pastors may do nothing by their own discretion, but only by the direction of the word of God, you say true; but in this, you strike at something else.

"*B. C.* Many things are lawful, and may be done, that have no direct warrant from the word.

"*U.* If that can be proved, it is sufficient, and agreeable to my answer.

"*B. C.* What occasion had you to speak of such matters as officers, orders, canons, &c.?

"*U.* I have not chosen those subjects on purpose, and have spoken upon them only as they came in my way. This I must do, or I could not declare all the council of God.

"*Dr. Cosin.* That you will never do while you live.

"*U.* But I must deliver as much as I know.

"*A.* It is because you would rail against authority.

"*B .C.* Why do you wish that the public service were abridged? It may all be read in three-quarters of an hour.

"*U.* But I have known it, with other business to be done before sermon, to last about two hours.

"*A.* They who are wearied with it are your scholars, who can away with nothing but your sermons.

"*U.* My scholars never keep out till the sermon begins; but if any of them be weary of the service, I never taught them so to be.

"*A.* All the service might be read well enough; but you will stand in your vain repetitions, both in your prayers and your sermons, and make no account of so doing.

"*U.* I pray you have a better opinion of me, unless you know that what you say is true.

"*A.* Nay, I speak not of you alone, but of all your sort: this is your manner. Why should you preach that some persons make but small account of sermons?

"*U.* Because I know it to be true.

"*B. C.* Though persons may have been of that mind, they may be altered."

Various other matters of doctrine and practice were discussed in the same manner, but it happened singularly enough, that at the very time when they had finished their examination of Mr. Udal, and, after consulting together, had called the witnesses to appear and give evidence, it was found that the man who had lodged the information against him had been seized with a fatal disease of which he very speedily died. This stayed the prosecution of the accusations against him, and after repeated summonses before the Commission, and many vexatious delays, Mr. Udal was released, chiefly through the importunity of his friends on his behalf. The Countess of Warwick was specially unwearied in her applications, by letters and messengers, both to Archbishop Whitgift and to the Bishop of Winchester, and it was mainly through her zeal on his behalf that he was at length liberated and restored to his ministerial duties.

It was about this time that the leading Nonconformists, wearied with their repeated and hopeless applications to their superiors for relief, at length came to the resolution that since the magistrate could not be induced to reform the discipline of the church, notwithstanding their continued supplications, they considered it was lawful for them, after having patiently waited for so many years, to proceed to its reformation in the best way they could. The result of this was the revisal and final adoption of what is generally known as the "Book of Discipline." This decided step was taken in the year 1586, and very nearly at the time of Mr. Udal's deliverance from the High Commission. The Book of Discipline was subscribed, or distinctly approved of, by upwards of 500

beneficed ministers in the church of England, and among the signatures of those who thus committed themselves to this new system of ecclesiastical order, appears the name of John Udal.

CHAPTER IX.

MARTIN MARPRELATE.

THE signing of the "Book of Discipline" was an act of hostility to the established ecclesiastical polity of Queen Elizabeth's government, which, if it had immediately come to the knowledge of the High Commission, would have subjected Mr. Udal to much greater rigour than that from which he had escaped. He appears, however, to have been left in peace for upwards of a year, though it is probable that during that period he was subjected to great uncertainty, and much inquisitorial surveilance, as after the lapse of that interval of peace he was finally driven from his flock. In the year 1588, when the plague was raging at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, he was invited by Lord Huntingdon, President of the North, to preach to the inhabitants of that Town. There Mr. Udal continued to labour for upwards of a year, undeterred by the horrors of the plague which raged in the town during the whole of that period, carrying off upwards of two thousand of its inhabitants.

It was about this period that the first of the famous Marprelate pamphlets made its appearance. The whole public printing presses of the kingdom having been put

beyond the reach of the advocates of puritan principles, some of the most active Nonconformists purchased a printing press and types, and with this, which was moved from place to place, as occasion, or the necessity for secrecy required, they contrived to issue and disperse over the kingdom, a series of satirical pamphlets, which excited the most violent indignation in the minds of those whom they attacked with the weapons of ridicule. These pamphlets were written in the boldest spirit of satirical assault, as may be seen from the following title of one of them: "*Theses Martinianæ;* i. e. Certain Demonstrative Conclusions set down and collected by Martin Marprelate the Great, serving as a manifest and sufficient Confutation of all that ever the College of Cater Caps, with their whole band of Clergy Priests, have, or can bring, for the defence of their ambitious and antichristian Prelacy. Published by Martin, junior, 1589, in octavo, and dedicated to John Kankerbury," i. e. Canterbury. The author of this threatens the bishops, that he will plant young Martins in every diocese and parish, who shall watch the behaviour of the clergy, and when anything is done amiss it shall be made public forthwith.

Another pamphlet, in printing which the press was discovered in Lancashire, was directed against Dr. Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, and entitled *Ha' ye any work for the Cooper?* It is said to be "printed over sea in Europe, within two furlongs of a bouncing priest, at the cost of Martin Marprelate, gent!" To these the writers on the opposite side replied in no less satirical, and often scurrilous style; of which the following titles may suffice as an example:—

"Pappe with an Hatchet; alias, A Fig for my Godson: or, Crack me this Nut; that is, a sound box of the ear for the idiot Martin to hold his peace. Written by one that dares call a dog a dog. Imprinted by John Anoke, and are to be sold at the sign of the Crab-Tree Cudgel, in Thwack-Coat Lane!"

"Pasquils Apology. In the first part whereof he renders a reason of his long silence, and gallops the field with the treatise of reformation. Printed where I was, and where I shall be ready, by the help of God and my muse, to send you a May-game of Martinism!"

"An Almond for a Parrot: or, An Alms for Martin Marprelate, &c. By Cuthbert Curry Knave!"

The influence of these violent satires was altogether prejudicial to the Puritan party, and involved some of the best of the Nonconformists in great sufferings. The authors of them were never discovered, though royal proclamations were issued denouncing them and their authors and requiring the most rigorous search to be made for them. On the 13th of February 1589, The Queen issued a proclamation imperatively requiring the "bringing in all seditious and schismatical books, whether printed or written, to the Ordinary, or to one of the Privy Council, as tending to bring in a monstrous and dangerous innovation of all manner of ecclesiastical government now in use, and with a rash and malicious purpose to dissolve the state of the prelacy, being one of the three ancient estates of this realm under her Highness, whereof her Majesty mindeth to have a reverend regard; she therefore prohibits any of her subjects from keeping any books in their custody against the order of the church, or the rites and

ceremonies of it, her Majesty being minded to have the laws severely executed against the authors and abettors of them, as soon as they shall be apprehended."

In consequence of the proceedings that followed, many were subjected to grievous fines and imprisonment on mere suspicion, and several suffered death. Among those who were arrested on suspicion of being concerned in these publications, Mr. Udal was seized and brought before the Commissioners assembled in Lord Cobham's house, early in 1589. The Lord Chief Justice Anderson, the Bishop of Rochester, and others were present, and the investigation was conducted in the following terms, part of the object in view apparently being to discover where John Penry or Ap Henry, a Welshman, then was, and whether Udal knew of his being the author of any of the Marprelate pamphlets, as was then generally believed. The Lord Chief Justice began his examination by inquiring: "How long have you been at Newcastle?

"*Udal.* About a year, if it please your lordship.

"*Anderson.* Why went you from Kingston-upon-Thames?

"*U.* Because I was silenced there, and was called to Newcastle.

"*Bishop.* What calling had you thither?

"*U.* The people made means to my Lord of Huntingdon, who sent me thither.

"*B.* Had you the allowance of the bishop of the diocese?

"*U.* At that time, there was none.

"*A.* You are called hither to answer concerning certain books, which are thought to be of your making.

"*U.* If it be for any of Martin's books, I have already answered, and am ready so to do again.

"*A.* Where have you answered, and in what manner?

"*U.* At Lambeth, a year and a half ago, I cleared myself not to be the author, nor to know who he was.

"*A.* Is this true, Mr. Beadle?

"*Beadle.* I have heard that there was such a thing, but I was not there, if it please your lordship.

"*Aubery.* There was such a thing, my lord's grace told us.

"*U.* I am the hardlier dealt with, to be fetched up so far at this time of the year. I have had a journey I would not wish unto my enemy.

"*B.* You may thank your own dealing for it.

"*A.* But you are to answer concerning *other* books.

"*U.* I hope your lordship will not urge me to any others, seeing I was sent for about those.

"*A.* You must answer to others also: What say you of 'A Demonstration' and 'A Dialogue?' did you not make them?

"*U.* I cannot answer.

"*A.* Why would you clear yourself of Martin, and not of these, but that you are guilty?

"*U.* Not so, my lord. I have reason to answer in the one, but not in the other.

"*A.* I pray let us hear your reason; for I cannot conceive of it, seeing they are all written concerning one matter.

"*U.* This is the matter, my lord. I hold the matter proposed in them to be all one; but I would not be thought to handle it in that manner, which the former

books do; and because I think otherwise of the latter, I care not though they should be fathered upon me."

Here it will be seen that Udal distinctly disclaims any connection with the satires, or even approval of the style in which they treated of the hierarchy and other points in dispute. Of his decided sympathy with the conscientious Nonconformists he makes no secret, however, exposing himself to all the dangers incurred by such an honest, and indeed heroic confession, and choosing rather to sacrifice himself than run any risk of implicating others by his answers. The examination was continued by Lord Buckhurst, who demanded: "But, I pray you, tell me, know you not Penry?

" *U.* Yes, my lord, that I do.

" *Buck.* And do you not know him to be Martin?

" *U.* No, surely, nor do I think him to be Martin.

" *Buck.* What is your reason?

U. This, my lord: when it first came out, he, understanding that some gave him out to be the author, wrote a letter to a friend in London, wherein he denied it, in such terms as declare him to be ignorant and clear in it.

" *Buck.* Where is that letter?

" *U.* Indeed I cannot tell you. For I have forgotten to whom it was written.

" *Buck.* You will not tell where it is.

" *U.* Why, my lord, it tendeth to the clearing of one, and the accusation of none.

" *Buck.* Can you tell where Penry is?

" *U.* No, surely, my lord.

" *Buck.* When did you see him?

" *U.* About a quarter of a year ago.

Buck. Where did you see him?

U. He called at my door and saluted me.

"*Buck.* Nay, he remained belike with you.

"*U.* No, indeed; he neither came into my house, nor did he so much as drink with me.

"*Buck.* How came you acquainted with him?

"*U.* I think at Cambridge; but I have often been in his company.

"*Buck.* Where?

"*U.* At various places.

"*A.* What say you? did you make these books? or know you who made them?

"*U.* I cannot answer to that question, my lord.

"*A.* You had as good say you were the author.

"*U.* That will not follow.

"*Lord Cobham.* Mr. Udal, if you be not the author, say so; and if you be, confess it: You may find favour.

"*U.* My Lord, I think the author, for any thing I know, did well; and I know he is inquired after to be punished; therefore, I think it my duty to hinder the finding of him out, which I cannot do better than thus.

"*A.* And why so, I pray you?

"*U.* Because, if every one that is suspected do deny it, the author at length must needs be found out.

"*A.* Why dare you not confess it, if you be the author? Dare you not stand to your own doings?

"*U.* I professed before, that I liked of the books, and the matter handled in them: but whether I made them or no, I will not answer. Besides, if I were the author, I think that by law I need not answer.

"*A.* That is true, if it concerned the loss of your life.

"*Mr. Fortesque.* I pray you by what law did you preach at Newcastle, being forbidden at Kingston?

"*U.* I know no law against it, seeing it was the official, Dr. Hone, who silenced me; whose authority reacheth not out of his own archdeaconry.

"*F.* What was the cause for which you were silenced?

"*U.* Surely I cannot tell, nor yet imagine.

"*A.* Well, what say you of those books? who made them? and where were they printed?

"*U.* Though I could tell your lordship, yet dare I not; for the reasons before alleged.

"*B.* I pray you let me ask you a question or two concerning your book.

"*U.* It is not yet proved to be *mine.* But I will answer to any thing concerning the *matter* of the book, so far as I know.

"*B.* You call it a Demonstration. I pray you what is a demonstration? I believe you know what it is.

"*U.* If you had asked me that question when I was a boy in Cambridge of a year's standing, it had been a note of ignorance in me, to have been unable to answer you.

"*Mr Egerton.* Mr. Udal, I am sorry that you will not answer, nor take an oath. You are like the seminary priests; who say, there is no law to compel them to accuse themselves.

"*U.* Sir, if it be a liberty by law, there is no reason why they should not challenge it.

"*Buck.* My Lord, it is no standing with him. What sayest thou, wilt thou take the oath?

"*U.* I have said as much thereunto as I can, my Lord.

"*Aubery.* You have taken it heretofore; and why will you not take it now?

"*U.* I was called to answer certain articles upon mine oath, when I freely confessed that against myself which could never have been proved; and when my friends laboured to have me restored, the Archbishop answered, that there was sufficient matter against me, by my own confession, why I should not be restored: whereupon I covenanted with mine own heart, never to be mine own accuser in that sort again.

"*B.* Will you take an oath?

"*U.* I dare not take it.

"*B.* Then you must go to prison, and it will go hard with you. For you must remain there until you be glad to take it.

"*U.* God's will be done. I had rather go to prison with a *good* conscience, than be at liberty with an *ill* one.

"*B.* Your sentence for this time is, to go close prisoner to the Gate-house, and you are beholden to my lords here, that they have heard you so long.

"*U.* I acknowledge it, and do humbly thank their honours for it."

"When they were all gone," Mr. Udal adds, in his account of the proceedings, "my Lord Cobham stayed me, to speak to me, who told me that it might be he and others wished things to be amended as well as I, but the time served not; therefore, he wished not to stand in it. And,—I praying his Lordship's good favour,—he promised to do for me what he could; for which I humbly thanked him. And so I was carried to the Gate-house prison by a messenger, who delivered me with a warrant

to be kept close prisoner, and not be suffered to have pen, ink, or paper, or any book, or any body to speak with me. Then I remained there half-a-year, during which time my wife could not get leave to come to me, saving only that, in the hearing of my keeper, she might speak to me and I to her, of such things as he should think meet; notwithstanding that she made suit to the Commissioners, yea, to the body of the Council, for some more liberty; all which time my chamber-fellows were emissaries, traitors, and Papists. At the end of half-a-year, I was removed to the White-Lion prison, at Southwark, and carried to the assizes at Croydon, where what was done I will not mention, seeing there were present such as were both able and I think willing to set down: unto whose report I refer those who would know the same."

CHAPTER X.

JOHN PENRY.

JOHN PENRY, whose name occurs so prominently in the examination of Udal at Cobham, is mentioned along with him, by Hume, as one whose case is, if possible, still harder than that of the other. "Penry had written against the hierarchy several tracts," says that historian, "such as Martin Marprelate, *Theses Martinianæ*, and other compositions, full of low scurrility and petulant satire." There is not the slightest evidence, however, for this authorship of the Marprelate pamphlets, which Hume thus assumes, and it has been seen that Udal distinctly declares his

belief that Penry was not their author. It will not be unseasonable, before following out the further narrative of Udal's examinations and imprisonment, to glance at the brief and touching history of his early fellow-student and fellow-sufferer.

John Penry was born in the mountains of Wales, from whence he proceeded, in the year 1578, to Cambridge, and entered himself as a student, on a charitable foundation admitting him to Peter House. After having taken his first degree, he removed to St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, where he took his degree of Master of Arts in 1586, soon after which he was admitted to holy orders, and preached with considerable acceptance at both Universities. He afterwards travelled in Wales and preached the gospel to his countrymen. He was esteemed both for learning and piety; but he speedily incurred the suspicions of the High Commission Court, by a publication in which he censured the substitution of the reading of the homilies for preaching. After remaining in prison for a month, he proceeded to Scotland, where he resided for some years, and diligently devoted himself to his advancement in learning. He seems to have been early fixed upon—apparently without any good evidence, if not indeed in the face of facts opposed to it—as the author of the obnoxious satires against Prelacy; and a special warrant was issued against him soon after the examination of Mr. Udal, narrated in the last chapter. He avoided this for sometime by his absence in Scotland, but no sooner did he return than he was discovered and seized. He was tried at the Queen's Bench. before the Lord Justice Popham, and convicted of felony, under the statute against uttering seditious

words and rumours against the Queen. He defended himself with great ability and compelled his judges to depart from their first indictment, by which he should have been prosecuted for the contents of certain books published in his name. But when he had proved such proceedings to be contrary to the statute, he was convicted on the contents of some private papers found in his possession; the foremost of which contained the heads of a petition and address to the Queen, pointing out to her the true state of religion, and the abuses that existed in the church, and praying that he might, by her authority, have permission to go and preach the gospel to his fellow-countrymen in the mountains of Wales. For these loose notes,—which he contended, in his defence, were not only private and most imperfect, but were even so disjointed and indefinite that in most places "they did not carry true English,"—he was convicted and condemned to die.

Penry wrote an eloquent and touching letter to Lord Burghley immediately after his condemnation, breathing the spirit of piety and conscious innocence, and written rather with the desire of vindicating the integrity of his character, than from any hope of mercy.

"I am a poor young man," he says, "born and bred in the mountains of Wales. I am the first, since the last springing of the gospel in this latter age, that publicly laboured to have the blessed seed thereof sown in those barren mountains. I have often rejoiced before my God, as He knoweth, that I had the favour to be born and live under her Majesty for the promoting of this work. . . . . Far be it that either the saving of an earthly life—the regard which I in nature ought to have to the deso-

late outward state of a poor friendless widow, and four fatherless infants, whereof the eldest is not above four years old, which I am to leave behind me—or any other outward thing, should enforce me, by denial of God's truth contrary to my conscience, to leese [loose or barter] my own soul; the Lord I trust, will never give me over to this sin. Great things in this life I never sought for, not so much as in thought; a mean and base outward state, according to my mean condition, I was content with. Sufficiency I have had with great outward troubles, but most contented was I with my lot, and content I am, and shall be with my undeserved and untimely death· beseeching the Lord that it be not laid to the charge of any creature in this land. For I do, from my heart, forgive all those that seek my life, as I desire to be forgiven in the day of strict account, praying for them as for my own soul, that although upon earth we cannot accord, we may yet meet in heaven, unto our eternal comfort and unity, where all controversies shall be at an end. And if my death can procure any quietness unto the church of God, and the state of my prince and kingdom, glad am I that I have a life to bestow in this service; I know not to what better use it could be employed if it were preserved; and therefore in this cause I desire not to spare it.

"Thus have I lived towards the Lord and my prince; and by the grace of God, I mean thus to die.

"Many such subjects I wish unto my prince, though no such reward to any of them. My earnest request is that her Majesty may be acquainted with these things before my death, or, at least, after my departure.

"Subscribed with the heart, and with the hand that

never devised or wrote anything to the discredit or defamation of my sovereign Queen Elizabeth.

"I take it on my death, as I hope to have a life after this. By me, JOHN PENRY."*

Penry inclosed in his letter to Lord Burghley, a writing for the satisfaction of her Majesty, which is also printed by Strype, and is characterised by the same high feeling of conscious integrity, and unstudied eloquence. He wrote also a letter addressed to the section of Nonconformists to which he belonged, encouraging them to maintain their integrity and to hold fast their faith, and affirming his stedfast adherence to the principles for which he was a sufferer. Conscious, from his own sad experience that they had no hope of liberty or toleration from the judges who had condemned him, he urged them to forsake their native land, and seek for freedom to worship God according to their consciences, in some other country; after which he adds the following most plaintive and touching appeal:—"I humbly beseech you, not in any outward regard as I shall answer before my God, that you would take my poor and desolate widow and my mess of fatherless and friendless orphans, with you into exile, whithersoever you go, and you shall find, I doubt not, that the blessed promises of my God, made unto me and mine, will accompany them, and even the whole church for their sakes, for this also is the Lord's promise unto the holy

No attention was paid to Penry's eloquent appeals, or to the declaration of innocence and loyalty which they contained. His most arbitrary and iniquitous sentence

* Strype's Life of Whitgift, b. iv. App

was kept in suspense, and then carried into execution with studied cruelty, at a time when he least expected it. A gallows was erected by order of the sheriff; while he was at dinner an officer came to bid him make ready, for he must die that afternoon, and the same evening he was hurried off without further preparation, and executed. Thus was this earnest and pious minister cut off in the 34th year of his age, in the very beginning of his usefulness, and when about to proceed as a gospel missionary into the wilds of the Welsh mountains, by an abuse of law and justice which reflects indelible disgrace on the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and on the early history of Protestantism in England.

CHAPTER XI.

SUFFERINGS AND DEATH OF UDAL.

RETURNING to the narrative of Mr. Udal's sufferings, —from which we digressed in order to glance at the iniquitous proceedings by which the Welsh scholar, John Penry, was cut off just as he was proposing to enter on his generous scheme of missionary labour among the remote highlands of Wales,—we resume his indictment before the assizes at Croydon. Mr. Udal was brought before his judges, Baron Clarke and Sergeant Puckering, —who afterwards succeeded Hatton as Lord Chancellor, —loaded with fetters, like the vilest criminal, and there he was charged that "not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being stirred up by the instigation of the

devil, he did maliciously publish a scandalous and infamous libel against the Queen's Majesty, her crown and dignity." The prisoner in vain demanded to be heard by council in his defence. He was peremptorily told "you cannot have it." No satisfactory legal evidence was brought forward to prove the authorship of the book, neither was he allowed to see his accusers or examine the witnesses, and as he was tempted on a former examination to furnish such admissions as might afterwards be used by the Commissioners against John Penry, so now one of the principal pieces of evidence urged against him was, that Udal had been named to one of the witnesses by Mr. Penry as the author of the book. The name of this work, thus regarded as so criminal a publication, will sufficiently show its character: It is entitled: "A Demonstration of the Truth of that Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word for the Government of his Church, in all Times and Places, until the End of the World." Fuller not only confesses that the proof produced against Udal was inconclusive, but he adds, it was generally believed that he was not the author of the book, but only of the preface. The whole procedure is such an obvious straining of the forms of law, and the principles of jury trial, that it forms as great a mockery of justice as the annals of arbitrary government disclose. His prosecutors would have merited less odium had they altogether dispensed with the formality of a trial, rather than perverted the forms of law to such an act of oppression. "His trial," Hallam justly remarks, "disgraces the name of English justice."

"The case of Udal, a Puritan clergyman," says the his-

torian Hume, "seems singular, even in those arbitrary times. This man had published a book called a 'Demonstration of Discipline,' in which he inveighed against the government of bishops; and though he had carefully endeavoured to conceal his name, he was thrown into prison upon suspicion, and brought to a trial for this offence. It was pretended, that the bishops were part of the Queen's political body; and to speak against them was really to attack her, and was therefore felony by the statute. This was not the only iniquity to which Udal was exposed. The judges would not allow the jury to determine any thing but the fact, whether Udal had written the book or not, without examining his intention or the import of the words. In order to prove the fact, the crown lawyers did not produce a single witness to the court: They only read the testimony of two persons absent, one of whom said that Udal had told him he was the author; another, that a friend of Udal's had said so. They would not allow Udal to produce any exculpatory evidence; which they said was never to be permitted against the crown. And they tendered him an oath, by which he was required to depose that he was not the author of the book; and his refusal to make that deposition was employed as the strongest proof of his guilt. It is almost needless to add, that notwithstanding these multiplied iniquities, a verdict of death was given by the jury against Udal: For, as the Queen was extremely bent upon his prosecution, it was impossible he could escape."

On this shameful system of perversion of law as an engine of persecution, this zealous and learned minister of the gospel was condemned as a seditious libeller. His sen-

tence was delayed in the hope that he would submit himself to the will of the court, and sign the following declaration, which amounted in fact to an acknowledgment of the crimes his accusers had failed to prove against him, and of which he maintained his innocence. The proposed form of recantation was as follows:—"I, John Udal, have been heretofore, by due course of law, convicted of felony, for penning or setting forth a certain book, called 'The Demonstration of Discipline;' wherein false, slanderous, and seditious matters are contained against her Majesty's prerogative royal, her crown and dignity, and against her laws and government, ecclesiastical and temporal, by law established under her Highness, and tending to the erecting a new form of government, contrary to her laws. All which points, I do now, by the grace of God, perceive to be very dangerous to the peace of this realm and church, seditious in the commonwealth, and infinitely offensive to the Queen's most excellent majesty. So as, thereby, now seeing the grievousness of my offence, I do most humbly, on my knees, before and in this presence, submit myself to the mercy of her Highness, being most sorry that I have so deeply and worthily incurred her Majesty's indignation against me; promising if it shall please God to move her royal heart to have compassion on me, a most sorrowful, convicted person, that I will, for ever hereafter, forsake all undutiful and dangerous courses, and demean myself dutifully and peaceably; for I acknowledge her laws to be both lawful and godly, and to be obeyed by every subject. Feb. 1590."

The most earnest persuasions were made use of to induce Udal to sign this confession but in vain. He addressed

letters, however, to Sir Walter Raleigh, to Sergeant Puckering, and to the Queen herself, setting forth in the strongest terms, his unfeigned loyalty to the Queen, and appealing in the most moving and yet dignified language, to their humanity and sense of justice. It was all in vain, however, justice had been too much wronged in procuring his condemnation to admit of any chance of successful appeal to it for averting the final sentence.

The day before his being called before the court to hear the sentence pronounced upon him he offered the following submission drawn up by himself:—

"Concerning the book whereof I was by due course of law convicted, by referring myself to the trial of the law, and for that, by the verdict of twelve men, I am found to be the author of it, for which cause an humble submission is worthily required and offered of me: Although I cannot disavow the cause and substance of the doctrine debated in it, which I must needs acknowledge to be holy, and (so far as I conceive it) agreeable to the word of God; yet I confess, the manner of writing it is such in some part as may worthily be blamed, and might provoke her Majesty's just indignation therein. Whereof the trial of the law imputing to me all such defaults as are in that book, and laying the punishment of the same in most grievous manner upon me; as my most humble suit to her most excellent Majesty is, that her mercy and gracious pardon may free me from the guilt and offence which the said trial of the law hath cast upon me, and further of her great clemency, to restore me to the comfort of my life and liberty, so do I promise, in all humble submission to

God and her Majesty, to carry myself in the whole course of my life, in such humble and dutiful obedience as shall befit a minister of the gospel and dutiful subject, fervently and continually praying for a good preservation of her Highness's precious life and happy government, to the honour of God, and comfort of her loyal and dutiful subjects. Feb. 19, 1590."

In one of his appeals, he exclaims, with the eloquence of a wronged spirit: "I pray you call to mind my tedious state of imprisonment, whereby myself, my wife and children, are reduced to beggary; pray call to mind by what course this misery is brought upon me; and if you find by due consideration, that I am worthy to receive the punishment from the sentence of upright justice, I pray you to hasten the execution of the same, for it were better for me to die than to live in this case; but if it appear to your consciences (as I hope it will) that no malice against her Majesty can possibly be in me, then do I humbly and heartily desire you to be a means that I may be released; then I shall not only forget that hard opinion conceived of your courses against me, but pray heartily to God to bury the same, with the rest of your sins, in the grave of his Son Jesus Christ."

At the close of the Lent assizes in Southwark he was called to the bar, with the other victims of the law, and felons and criminals of every kind, to receive sentence; when asked at the bar the usual question, if he had any reasons to show why sentence should not be pronounced against him according to the verdict, he delivered a paper to the judges, of which the reader will judge from the following extracts, which are characterised at once by clear

and able reasoning; and by the eloquent protest of conscious integrity.

"I conceive and affirm," says he, "that sentence should not be passed against me,

"1. Because the jury were directed only to find the fact, whether I was author of the book; and were expressly freed by your lordship from inquiring into the intent, without which there is no felony.

"2. The jury were not left to their own consciences, but were wrought upon partly by promises, assuring them it should be no further danger to me but tend to my good; and partly by fear, as appears, in that it has been a grief to some of them ever since.

"3. The statute, in the true meaning of it, is thought not to reach my case, there being nothing in the book spoken of her Majesty's person but in duty and honour; I beseech you therefore to consider, whether the drawing of it from her royal person to the bishops, as being part of her body politic, be not a violent depraving and wresting of the statute.

"4. But if the statute be taken as it is urged, the felony must consist in the malicious intent; wherein I appeal first to God, and then to all men who have known the course of my life, and to your lordships' own consciences, whether you can find me guilty of any act in all my life that favoured of any malice or malicious intent against her Majesty; of which, if your consciences must clear me before God, I hope you will not proceed to judgment.

"5. By the laws of God, and I trust also by the laws of the land, the witnesses ought to be produced face to face against me; but I have none such, nor any other

things, but papers and reports of depositions taken by ecclesiastical commissioners and others. This kind of evidence is not allowed in case of lands, and therefore much less ought it to be allowed in case of life.

"6. None of the depositions prove me directly to be the author of the book in question: and the author of the chief testimony is so grieved, that he is ashamed to come where he is known.

"7. Supposing me to be the author of the book, let it be considered that the said book for substance contains nothing but what is taught and believed by the best reformed churches in Europe, so that in condemning me you condemn all such nations and churches as hold the same doctrine. If the punishment be for the manner of writing, this may be thought by some worthy of an admonition, or fine, or some short imprisonment; but death for an error of such a kind, as terms and words not altogether dutiful of certain bishops, cannot but be extreme cruelty against one that has endeavoured to show himself a dutiful subject, and faithful minister of the gospel.

"If all this prevail not, yet my Redeemer liveth, to whom I commend myself, and say as sometime Jeremiah said in a case not much unlike, 'Behold I am in your hands, to do with me whatsoever seemeth good unto you, but know you this, that if you put me to death, you shall bring innocent blood upon your own heads and upon the land.' As the blood of Abel, so the blood of Udal will cry to God with a loud voice, and the righteous Judge of the land will require it at the hands of all that shall be guilty of it."

No one can peruse this manly appeal without sympathy

for the sufferer, and a strong feeling of indignation against the perpetrators of so shameful a perversion of law and justice. Nevertheless, it was altogether unavailing. The following is the very cool and lawyer-like account of the proceedings of the Court, furnished by Sergeant Puckering, in a letter to the Lord Chancellor Hatton. Referring to the reasons quoted above, the learned Sergeant says: "he spent an hour with us, debating to and fro; but no matter yielded unto for any submission, *such as we could like of;* albeit in that place we moved him thereunto. We therefore proceeded and gave sentence against him, and commanded openly the execution of all that were adjudged—he being one." Sergeant Puckering concludes his letter thus:—"At the last, when we charged him that he had written, in his petition to her Majesty, that he did submit himself to such order as it should please her Highness to appoint, and now by us, her Highness's justices of assize, to that manner of submission which we prescribed to him was thought meet to be required of him for her Highness, he answered, that those words, in his said petition, he meant only as to abide her order for life or death, as her Majesty should appoint, and not otherwise to yield to anything that might concern him in conscience in that doctrine which he had taught,—as by the words before and after in the sentence, he said it might be so understood. But he offered in his last speech, that the submission which he had made to her Majesty and any other submission that he had made he would perform. Marry, he and we did differ—what was the manner of the submission he had made by words at Croydon assize.

"So as, my very good lord, we are not able to get of him such a submission as was prescribed for him to make nor to like effect, we have proceeded as aforesaid, leaving him now at her Majesty's pleasure. This Sunday morning, the 21st of February, 1590."

Even after the rejection of his appeals to justice, and the contempt of his eloquent protest in arrest of sentence, Mr. Udal continued to maintain great composure and peace of mind amid all his privations and sufferings. In addition to the eloquent remonstrances and appeals which he penned from time to time to those in power, or to his more influential friends, he beguiled the dreary hours of his long imprisonment by literary labours. It was during this last imprisonment that he wrote the learned work which was published after his death, entitled "The Key of the Holy Tongue, with a short Dictionary, and a Praxis on certain Psalms,"—the first Hebrew grammer in English. He was the author of various other works. An anonymous publication, which is ascribed to his pen, is entitled "The State of the Church of England laid open, in a Conference between Diotrephes, a bishop; Tertullus, a Papist; Demetrius, a usurer; Pandochus, an innkeeper; and Paul, a preacher of the word of God." In this, as in other of his writings, he sets forth very plainly his opposition to the lordly hierarchy established in the church. Nevertheless, like many others of the early Nonconformists, he was strongly averse to the idea of being thought a schismatic, or of separating from the church, although he so earnestly sought the alteration of its discipline in accordance with his opinions as to the scriptural nature of ecclesiastical government.

While he was refusing the urgent entreaties of Dr. Andrews and others, for his signing the submission that had been offered to him, he wrote to the Queen the following brief but very definite declaration of his opinions regarding the points on which he believed her Majesty had been misinformed:—"I believe and have often preached, that the Church of England is a part of the true visible church, the word and sacraments being truly dispensed; for which reason I have communicated with it several years at Kingston, and a year at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and do still desire to be a preacher in the same church; therefore I utterly renounce the schism and separation of the Brownists. I do allow the articles of religion as far as they contain the doctrine of faith and sacraments, according to law. I believe the Queen's majesty hath, and ought to have, supreme authority over all persons, in all causes, ecclesiastical and civil. And if the prince commands anything contrary to the word of God, it is not lawful for subjects to rebel or resist, but with patience and humility to bear the punishment laid upon them. I believe the church, rightly reformed, ought to be governed ecclesiastically by ministers, assisted by elders, as in the foreign reformed churches. I believe the censures of the church ought merely to concern the soul, and may not impeach any subject, much less any prince, in liberty of body, goods, dominion, or any earthly privilege, nor do I believe that a Christian prince ought otherwise to be subject to church censures, than our gracious Queen professes herself to be to the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments."*

Mr. Udal's defences, petitions, and appeals, were

* Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 452.

equally unavailing. The court seem to have viewed his consistent firmness as the most heinous of his crimes, and resolved that no relaxation of the law's extremest severity should precede his abject submission to its will. On his refusal to plead guilty to crimes of which he was conscious of innocence, the sentence of death was pronounced against him, upon hearing which Mr. Udal calmly said, "God's will be done!"

Dr. Bancroft, at that time Lord Chancellor Hatton's chaplain, wrote to Sergeant Puckering on the day on which sentence was pronounced. In this letter he says: "My Lord's advice is, that if Mr. Udal's submission do not satisfy you, you should proceed to judgment; but that you should stay his execution, and forthwith this day write to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain of his obstinacy, desiring him to inform her Majesty of it, and to know her pleasure for the execution, whether it shall be further stayed, &c., and so in haste I take my leave. At Ely House, this 20th February, 1590." He adds to this, on a separate enclosure:—"You must then command the execution, and after, defer the same until her Majesty's pleasure is known."

The pertinacity with which this Puritan confessor was pursued to the death by his relentless persecutors, exhibits, in a most painful light, the cruel intolerance of which Queen Elizabeth was capable. Udal sent to the Queen along with the declaration of his faith, an offer to go into voluntary banishment, if her Majesty would condescend to grant so humble a supplication. He wrote also to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, stating that the Turkey merchants had offered to send him out as a chap-

lain to one of their foreign factories, and entreating his influence to procure him his life and liberty, on condition of his going into Syria or Guinea, where he would be beyond the risk of giving any offence to the court or government. Strype says, in his life of Archbishop Whitgift, that the Archbishop agreed to this proposal, that the Lord Treasurer engaged to use his influence for its furtherance, and that the Earl of Essex drew up a pardon on the terms of his petition, with the further condition annexed, that he should never return to England, unless he received the Queen's permission. Hope rose in the mind of the poor captive at the prospect of regaining liberty and reunion with his wife and children, after so miserable an imprisonment of upwards of three years, even though his release was to be burdened with such painful conditions. But the Queen refused her signature to the pardon; the Turkey fleet sailed without him; and Udal was left to die in the Marshalsea prison a few months after, heart-sickened with disappointed hopes, and worn out by the sufferings and privations which he had borne with such heroic endurance.

Udal was mentioned by King James of Scotland, along with Cartwright, in the letter of intercession written by him to Queen Elizabeth, on the 12th of June, 1691, on behalf of "certain ministers of the evangel, within her realm, of right good erudition and faithful travails in the church." The Scottish King entreated her, for his sake, to relieve them of their present straits, affirming his ready disposition to be equally prompt in yielding to any such recommendation of mercy from her. This royal appeal, however, was equally fruitless with all others. King

James does not appear to have ever been informed of the fate of this object of his appeal for royal clemency and favour. . On his accession to the English crown, it is said that one of the first persons he inquired for was Mr. Udal, in regard to whom his interest and favour appear to have been unusually strong. On being informed of his death, the King exclaimed, "By my soul, then the greatest scholar in Europe is dead!" The testimony of Fuller to his learning and worth is scarcely less decided. "He was," says he, "a learned man, and of a blameless life, powerful in prayer, and no less profitable than painful (*i. e.* painstaking) in preaching."

Thus prematurely closed the useful life of this conscientious and faithful servant of Christ, a martyr to the fidelity with which he maintained what he believed to be scriptural truth. "He was decently interred," says Neal, "in the churchyard of St. George, Southwark, not far from the grave of Bishop Bonner, being honoured with the attendance of great numbers of the London ministers, who visited him in prison, and now wept over the remains of a man who, after a long and severe trial of his faith and patience, died for the testimony of a good conscience, and stands upon record as a monument of the oppression and cruelty of the government under which he suffered."

It is a curious fact, which perhaps may be thought to afford additional evidence of the unshaken loyalty of Udal, that his son Ephraim was a sufferer for his fidelity to the Government of Charles I., and to the Established Church, when such principles had ceased to be the passport to favour and promotion. He is prominently mentioned in "Walker's History of the Sufferings of the Clergy," and

it will be seen from the following account of him by Chalmers, that the persecution his father endured in the cause of Nonconformity, had failed to influence his opinions as to ecclesiastical government, though he adhered to the scriptural faith which he had been taught in his youth, and which was maintained alike by the sufferer for conformity and nonconformity, in accordance with the articles and ritual of the Church of England. "When his son Ephraim was born," says Chalmers, "does not appear, but he was educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, where he took his degree of A.B. in 1609, and that of A.M. in 1614. His only preferment in the church appears to have been the rectory of St. Augustine's, Watling Street, but the time of his admission is not stated by Newcourt or Walker. He was sequestered, however, in 1643, although he had always been accounted, and indeed admired, as a preacher of Puritan principles. The truth was, that he early perceived the real designs of the Republican party, and exerted himself to oppose them. In a sermon at Mercers' Chapel, he addressed himself to some of them in these words: 'You desire truth and peace; leave your lying, and you may have truth; lay down your arms, and you may have peace.' He went farther than even this, by declaring openly for Episcopacy and the Liturgy, and publishing a learned treatise against sacrilege, entitled, 'A Coal from the Altar;' and another, 'Communion Comeliness,' in which he recommended the placing of rails around the communion-table. He also published a sermon, called '*Noli me tangere*,' containing many loyal sentiments and much attachment to the church. Crimes like these were not to be forgiven; and,

accordingly, his house was plundered, his library and furniture carried off, and his old and lame wife literally turned into the street. Mr. Udal died about the latter end of May 1647. His funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Thomas Reeve, B.D., who was neither ashamed nor afraid to give him, what he seems to have deserved, a high character for piety and zeal."*

CHAPTER XII.

CONCLUSION.

THE biographic sketches of eminent Nonconformist divines of the Elizabethan era, which occupy the preceding chapters, illustrate the history of the English Reformation during its earlier years, and throw no inconsiderable light on the political events of Queen Elizabeth's reign. No feature in the whole annals of that period is more remarkable, or more worthy of consideration by the student of history, than the defective nature of the views of religious liberty maintained and defended with such conscientious and self-sacrificing zeal by these Puritan confessors. They had their origin in erroneous opinions which the reformers in nearly every country of Europe unconsciously derived from the Romish Church which they had renounced. That idea of the unity of the church which the Romanist seeks in external uniformity, was regarded by nearly every religious reformer of that age as an indispensable characteristic of the true church

* Chalmer's Biog. Dict. vol. xxx. p. 148

of Christ. They erred, in common with the Romanist, in mistaking uniformity for unity, and the most earnest believers failed to discover the simplicity of the vital test of Christian unity set forth in the New Testament,—faith in the one Lord Jesus Christ. The consequence of this was that these honest confessors, while enduring such sore trials and sufferings for conscience' sake, strengthened by their arguments the erroneous perversion of the principles of equal justice and liberty by which their persecutors justified the penalties they inflicted on them. The Nonconformist maintained the propriety of visiting with punishment all who maintained erroneous faith and doctrines, reserving only for his own defence, when assailed by persecution at the hands of his brother Protestant, that his faith and doctrine were not erroneous. Both, however, left to fallible man to determine the infallibility of the doctrine that should arm justice with this supremacy over error, and thus was the Reformation stained with the wrongs and the cruelties of Romish intolerance.

Let not those, however, who have learned to carry out the principles of freedom to their legitimate extent, forget how slowly the lesson has been learned, and how much we owe our enjoyment of liberty of conscience and true Christian toleration, to the heroic endurance of these sufferers for conscience' sake, the Elizabethan Nonconformists, with their followers under the Stuarts' rule.

It is specially worthy of notice in elucidating the opinions of the early Protestant Nonconformists, that their forgetfulness of the universal extent of sound toleration arose from the very earnestness with which they sought to effect the liberation of the Christian church from all

earthly control. They maintained that the apostolic churches acknowledged no master but the one Lord Jesus Christ, and no laws for faith or discipline but those which the Bible sets forth. They had no desire to abate in one single iota the legitimate authority and power of the secular government within its own specific province; but they maintained, with all the unflinching zeal of conscientious conviction, that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, and that the authority which belongs to its ministry, and the right of choice of its office-bearers, which pertains to the whole church, cannot be confounded with the privileges pertaining to earthly kingdoms, without a manifest and antichristian usurpation. It was a co-ordinate jurisdiction of the secular and spiritual rulers, altogether independent of each other, which they were struggling for, and this they have to a great extent accomplished for us, though, in part at least, by carrying out the principles of liberty for which they contended, to legitimate consequences of which very few of them had any conception.

The lessons we have to learn from the sufferings of these martyrs of liberty and truth, are such as, even under the free institutions of England in the nineteenth century, require still to be enforced. The faith and the opinions of men may be influenced by argument and made to yield to reason, but they cannot be moulded at the will of another, or controlled by the force of a superior power. The authority by which God demands of all men every where to believe the gospel, and by which he denounces wrath and judgment against the unbelieving, belongs to himself alone, and cannot be delegated to fallible man.

"To this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be the Lord both of the dead and of the living. But why dost thou judge thy brother? or why dost thou set at nought thy brother? for we shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ. So then every one shall give account of himself to God. Let us not therefore judge one another any more; but judge this rather, that no man put a stumbling-block, or an occasion to fall, in his brother's way." Such is St. Paul's exhortation to this, as to every other age. For our actions we are amenable to human laws, for our faith to God alone; and he only can justly be subjected to restraint or punishment who publishes opinions manifestly inimical to social order, or subversive of morality and virtue. But while the keenest advocate for liberty of conscience allows of such a restraint on the liberty of the press, it is happily proved by the experience of our free institutions that public opinion exercises, even in such cases, a safer and far more efficient censorship, than any that the strong hand of power can wield.

While enjoying the precious privileges purchased by such sufferings as those we have narrated in the preceding pages, let not the descendants of these fathers of English liberty forget to whom they are due; still more let us not forget that liberty is the fruit of Christianity,—social liberty, political liberty, and, above all, spiritual liberty—that liberty wherewith Christ makes his people free.

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